

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Faculty of Arts

DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

**The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict
on the
Science of Hadith**

Saleh Ahmed al-Busaidi

(Supervisor: Dr. Y.S. Dutton)

Thesis presented for the PhD Degree in Islamic Studies



Contents

<i>Declaration</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Key to Transliteration</i>	<i>vii</i>
Introduction	1
Part 1 Doctrinal Conflict in Islam	5
1 The Beginning of Doctrinal Conflict in Islam	6
2 Types of Doctrinal Conflict	16
A Differences in Politics	16
B Differences in Faith (<i>'aqidah</i>)	24
Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah	25
The Shi'ites	27
The Kharijites	31
The Mu'tazilites	34
C Differences in <i>fiqh</i>	37
The Ibadites	42
The Zaydites	45
The Hanafites	47
The Malikites	50
The Shafi'ites	53
The Hanbalites	55
The Zahirites	57
Part 2 The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict on the Narration of Hadiths	60
Introduction: Status of the Sunnah in the Origins of Islamic Law	61
3 The Effect on Receiving and Relating Hadiths	75
4 The Effect on the Forgery of Hadiths	84
Doctrinal forgers	90
The political parties	90
The religious groups	93

The Kharijites	94
Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah	97
The Shi‘ites	101
Aims of the doctrinal forging of narrations	103
Support of doctrinal opinions	103
Disparagement of others	106
Glorification of the doctrine	108
5 The Effect on the Quality of Narrations	111
The subject of the narrations	111
The <i>asānīd</i> of the narrations	114
Part 3 The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict on the Judgement of Hadiths	117
6 The Appearance of “Narration of the Heretic” (<i>Riwāyat al-Mubtadi</i>)	118
7 Differences in the Acceptance of the “Narration of the Heretic”	130
8 The Effect of These Differences on the Judgement of Hadiths	142
Definition of a hadith	143
Classification of acceptable and unacceptable hadiths	144
Honesty of the narrator	146
Part 4 Case Studies of Some Narrations	149
Introduction	150
9 Narrations about Virtues (<i>al-Manāqib</i>)	152
10 Narrations about Faith (<i>al-‘aqīdah</i>)	165
11 Narrations about Jurisprudence (<i>al-fiqh</i>)	184
Conclusion	199
<i>Biographies</i>	202
<i>Bibliography</i>	225

Declaration

I, the undersigned,
hereby declare that this thesis has been written by myself
and that
references made to the sources have been duly acknowledged.

Signature

.....

Saleh Ahmed al-Busaidi

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the effect of Islamic doctrinal conflict on the science of Hadith. It is divided into an Introduction, four main parts and a Conclusion.

The Introduction gives a general outline of the aims of the thesis, the reasons for choosing this topic and the method followed in the research and writing.

Part 1 describes how doctrinal conflict began among the Muslims in the early years after the death of Prophet Muhammad. The conflict grew rapidly to affect the lives and history of the Muslims, who became divided into different doctrines and groups, each with its own view on politics, '*aqidah* and *fiqh*. It includes a short description of each of the well-known doctrines covering politics, '*aqidah* and *fiqh* (its founder, origins and famous promoters).

Part 2 concentrates on the effect of doctrinal conflict on Muslims in their narration of hadiths. A comparison is made of the narrations by several scholars of Islam to investigate the extent to which each scholar accepted the narrations and narrators promoted by other scholars. It also determines the effect of doctrinal conflict on the forgery of hadith to support a particular opinion and to glorify or disparage an individual or group. Finally, it investigates the effect of doctrinal conflict on the quality of the narrations promoted by each doctrine or group.

Part 3 examines the term "narration of the heretic" (*riwāyat al-mubtadi*'), that is, each group regarding the others as heretics. To this end, the views of various scholars of Islam are analysed to determine their differences and their effect on Muslims in the science of Hadith with regard to the "narration of the heretic".

Therefore, it investigates how the different views held by scholars of the “narration of the heretic” affects the judgement of hadiths.

Part 4 consists of a comparative study of a group of narrations that have been subjected to widely differing interpretations by Muslims. The fields chosen for this study are Virtues (*al-Manāqib*), the Faith (*al-‘aqīdah*) and Jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*).

The Conclusion is a summary of the results that have been reached in this thesis.

Acknowledgements

Having completed this thesis, I should like to express my deep gratitude and sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr Yasin Dutton, not only for his guidance, encouragement and scholarly assistance, but also for the kindness that he has shown me. He has patiently read the drafts of this thesis, and without his valuable comments, corrections and advice, the present work would not have been possible.

My warm thanks also go to the staff of the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies and the Faculty of Arts for their help. I should like to give my grateful thanks as well to the Secretary of the Department and to the staff of the Main Library for their co-operation.

My warm thanks go to all those who have helped me in the preparation of this thesis.

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

1- Consonants:

‘	أ – همزة	‘	ع
b	ب	gh	غ
t	ت	f	ف
th	ث	q	ق
j	ج	k	ك
ḥ	ح	l	ل
kh	خ	m	م
d	د	n	ن
dh	ذ	h	ه
r	ر	w	و
z	ز	y	ي
s	س		
sh	ش		
ṣ	ص		
ḍ	ض		
ṭ	ط		
ẓ	ظ		

2- Short vowels:

a	fatḥah - فتحة
u	ḍammah - ضمة
i	kasrah - كسرة

3 – Long vowels:

ā	– fatḥah and alif
ū	– ḍammah and wāw
ī	– kasrah and yā’

4 – Diphthongs:

ay	fatḥah and yā’
aw	fatḥah and wāw

Introduction

The aims of this study, “The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict on the Science of Hadith” are as follows:

- To analyse and understand the beginnings of doctrinal conflict in Islam (in politics, *‘aqīdah* and *fiqh*).
- To discover and analyse the advantages and disadvantages of each doctrine.
- To discover and analyse the differences among scholars of Islam.
- To analyse the effect of these differences on the science of Hadith, especially on its narration.

Part 1 describes how doctrinal conflict among the Muslims began in the early years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, which is contrary to the general opinion that it developed during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate.¹ The conflict grew rapidly to affect the lives and history of the Muslims, who became divided into different doctrines and groups, each with its own view on politics, *‘aqīdah* and *fiqh*.

Part 2 will concentrate on the effect of doctrinal conflict among Muslims on their narration of Hadith. A comparison will be made of the narrations by several scholars of Islam to determine the quality of each narration. This part of the thesis will also investigate the extent to which each scholar accepted the narrations and narrators promoted by other scholars.

¹ Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* p 9, Jahlān, ‘Addūn, *Al-Fikr alSiyāsī* p19

Part 3 will examine the term “narration of the heretic” (*riwāyat al-mubtadi*), that is, each group regarding the others as heretics.² To this end, the views of various scholars of Islam will be analysed to determine their differences and their effect on Muslims in the science of Hadith with regard to the “narration of the heretic”.

Part 4 will consist of a comparative study of a group of narrations that have been subjected to widely differing interpretations by Muslims. For instance, the deep differences among scholars in their views of ‘Alī are reflected in their narrations about him. The Shi‘ites have thousands of narrations about ‘Alī since they believe that he was the caliph appointed by the Prophet Muhammad to succeed him after his death. In contrast, the Sunnis do not have as many narrations about ‘Alī. However, the Kharijites have even fewer narrations about him because, again, they do not regard him in the same light as the Shi‘ites. This example is a good illustration of the effect of doctrinal conflict among Muslims on the narration of hadiths.

Doctrinal conflict could be said to have had a marked effect on every aspect of the Islamic sciences. However, its effect on the science of Hadith is critical because this is the second source of Islam, that is, the Sunna of the Prophet.

To sum up, after the Prophet’s death, the Muslims divided into many groups, each with its own interpretation of the religious texts and other aspects of Islam. That affected Muslim society in various ways, though the impact on the science of Hadith was obvious and extensive. The following are some examples of this impact:

- Differences among Muslims resulted in divisions so wide that they were reluctant to accept knowledge from one another.

² Muḥammad al-Manāwī, *al-Yawāqūt wa al-Durar*, p.152.

- Some Muslims tried to support their views by forging narrations, stating that they originated from the Prophet. This created another burden for the scholars of Islam, who had to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic narrations.
- Many Islamic groups decided not to accept other people's narrations because they classified some of them as the "narrations of heretics" and therefore doubtful and unacceptable. There are still many Muslims who hold this view.
- Later, when scholars of Hadith wrote books about the narrators of the Prophet's Sayings, they considered doctrinal difference a possible vilification, which could make a narration unacceptable. For instance, *Lisān al-Mizān*, written by Ibn Hajar, contains about a hundred references to the groups to which various narrators belonged. In some cases, Ibn Hajar uses this fact as a vilification of the narrator.

This situation has led some scholars and researchers, especially orientalist, to go so far as to assert that the narrations of the Prophet cannot be trusted because of our inability to distinguish the authentic from the inauthentic.³ Therefore, the only reliable source of Islamic law is the Qur'an. The Sunna should not be considered an acceptable source of this knowledge.

On the other hand, however, there are many scholars who believe that the effect of doctrinal conflict on the science of Hadith is not as serious as that asserted by the orientalist. When doctrinal conflict appeared, the scholars of Hadith made strenuous efforts to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic narrations. First,

³ Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muslims Studies* 2/18. Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* p.152; Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* p.148. Junboll, G. H. A, *The Authenticity of the Traditions Literature* p.1.

they investigated the reputation of the narrators, separating the trustworthy from the untrustworthy. Second, they analysed every narration ascribed to the Prophet and compared it with the Qur'an and facts of Islam, so that they could make a sound judgement on whether it was acceptable. The work of these scholars has made it possible to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic narrations, even if it has not been able to prevent inauthentic narrations from infiltrating the Hadith through authentic narrations.

There are many books and studies that discuss the effect of various theories about the science of Hadith on the doctrinal conflict in Islam. However, there does not appear to exist a full study of the effect of doctrinal conflict itself on the whole science of Hadith, despite its importance.

The objectives of this thesis are to determine the effect of doctrinal conflict on the whole science of Hadith, especially on its narration, to discover the reasons for that conflict, its beginning, its development, and the real differences among the various schools.

Part 1

Doctrinal Conflict in Islam

CHAPTER ONE

The Beginning of Doctrinal Conflict in Islam

When researchers and writers mention the beginning of doctrinal conflict in Islam, they are usually referring to what is known as the Civil War (*a-Fitnah al-Kubrā*), which took place towards the end of the third caliphate, held by ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (45 BH – 35 AH/578–656 AC), and the early years of the fourth caliphate, held by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (13 BH – 40 AH/599–660 AC). That war resulted in the division of the Muslims into groups who followed their own interpretation of Islamic doctrine, thus creating differences that continue to exist today.¹

Nevertheless, conflict among the Muslims had erupted long before the Civil War, though at first, disputes were settled either peacefully or by military means that did not leave a permanent scar on the ‘*Ummah*.

Conflict made its first appearance among the Muslims immediately after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (53 BH – 11 AH/570–632 AC). It took the form of a dispute among the Companions over who was worthier of holding the caliphate, the Muhājirūn² or the Anṣār.³ The Anṣār claimed that right because of their support for the Prophet. However, the Muhājirūn argued that they were worthier because they

¹ Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* p 9, Jahlān, ‘Addūn, *Al-Fikr alSiyāsī* p19

² The Muhājirūn: Companions of the Messenger of Allah who accepted Islam in Makkah and went on the *hijrah* (emigration) to Medina. See, Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.44.

³ The Anṣār (the Helpers) were the people of Medina who welcomed and aided the Muhājirūn. See, Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.34.

were the first to be converted to Islam and to follow the new religion, and because they were related to the Prophet.⁴

Such a conflict might have caused a serious split in the new Islamic state if it had not been for Abū Bakr's intelligence and the faith of the Prophet's former Companions. These people had not sought to differ in any way except to preserve the integrity of the 'Ummah, which was more important than anything else. That conflict was solved peacefully without bloodshed, the only violence consisting of angry words spoken in the heat of the moment.

During Abū Bakr's caliphate, another dispute arose when some Muslims refused to pay the *zakāh* to the caliph. Their view was that since they had paid it to the Prophet during his lifetime, it was no longer necessary to do so after his death. It was as if they were saying that *zakāh* should be paid only to the Prophet.⁵ The caliph made every possible effort to persuade the dissenters peacefully to pay what was owing, but to no avail. Finally, he resorted to military means to force them to submit to his authority. The military expedition was successful not only in bringing the dispute to an end, but also in not leaving any trace of the action carried out.⁶

The second caliphate, which was held by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, passed without any conflict among the Muslims. So did the first half of the third caliphate, held by 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, who reigned for twelve years in total. However, during the second half of his reign, there was criticism from some quarters over his

⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad, *Tā'rikh al-Ṭabarī*, 3/203–211; Al-Shaybānī, ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tā'rikh*, 2/187–192; William Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp.1–6.

⁵ Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, pp.46–48.

⁶ Al-Dimashqī, Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 6/311.

assigning numerous executive posts to his relatives and paying them out of the national budget. Sayyid Quṭb describes the situation during that period:

‘Uthmān took over the caliphate in his old age. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, in his government post, had frequently strayed from the Islamic path. ‘Uthmān’s easy-going nature and deep affection for his relatives contributed to behaviour that was condemned by many Companions. His behaviour was to have serious consequences later and cause numerous difficulties and suffering for the Muslim community.

‘Uthmān took 200,000 dirhams from the State Treasury and gave it to his son-in-law, al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam, for his wedding. The next morning, Zayd ibn Arqam, the State Treasurer, came to him [‘Uthmān], with tears in his eyes and looking very sad, and offered his resignation from his post.

When ‘Uthmān knew the reason – that it was because of his gift to his son-in-law – he was surprised and said: “Ibn Arqam, are you crying because I have strengthened my relationship with my relatives?”

Ibn Arqam, who was a Muslim to very depths of his soul, replied: “No, O Leader of the Believers. I am crying because I think that you took this money instead of what you spent during the lifetime of the Prophet. I swear by Allah, if you had given him [al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam] one hundred dirhams, it would have been too much.”

Then ‘Uthmān became angry with Ibn Arqam, who, in his heart, could not condone taking money from the Muslims and giving it to the relatives of their caliph. He said to Ibn Arqam: “Give me the keys! We shall find someone else to replace you!”

There were numerous examples similar to that of the gift during ‘Uthmān’s reign. He once gave al-Zubayr 600,000 dirhams, Ṭalḥah 200,000 dirhams, and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam one-fifth of the land tax from Africa (Tunisia). When some of the Companions, headed by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, admonished him, he replied: “I have relatives [so I have to give them money].”

They asked him: “Did not Abū Bakr and ‘Umar have relatives? [but they did not give them money].”

He said: “Abū Bakr and ‘Umar asked for a reward [from Allah] by not giving anything to their relatives, but I ask for a reward [from Allah] by giving money to my relatives.”

So they left, saying angrily: “Then their way is better for us than yours!”⁷

⁷ Sayyid Quṭb, *Al-‘Adālah al-‘Ijtīmā‘iyyah fī al-‘Islām*, p.159.

To begin with, the criticism was muted. Nevertheless, it increased to the level where its proponents besieged the Caliph in his house for a month, and then killed him. That was in 35 AH/ 656 AC.⁸

It seemed that the crisis had been brought to an end with the assassination of the caliph. However, the assassination turned out to be a spark that was to ignite the fuse of subsequent events that would divide the Muslims.

Following the death of ‘Uthmān, the Companions called a meeting in Medina, where they agreed to select ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as the next caliph. The pledge of allegiance was given and life appeared to return to normal. However, Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh and al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, who had been among those who had pledged allegiance to ‘Alī, rose against him because he, in their opinion, had not taken revenge on the assassins of ‘Uthmān.⁹ Taking ‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr with them, they went to Baṣrah, where they were joined by numerous supporters.

Caliph ‘Alī sent many messengers to the rebels in an attempt to bring them back, warning them of the effect of their action on the Muslims. Despite his efforts,

⁸ Al-Dimashqī, Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 7/173–186; Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta’rīkh*, 2/526–545; Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp.225–233.

⁹ Hugh Kennedy gave another reason for the rebellion by Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr when he said: “Now, a quarter of a century after the Prophet’s death, there were few men left alive who had been so closely involved in the origins of Islam. In addition he [al-Zubayr] had married a daughter of Abū Bakr, which gave him a close kinship with ‘Ā’isha, herself a daughter of the first caliph. Ṭalḥa was also an early Qurashī convert, although not as prominent as al-Zubayr. Both had been members of the *shūrā*, which had chosen ‘Uthmān. While they had not supported ‘Uthmān’s policies of concentrating power in the hands of the Umayyad clan, they did not wish to see power pass from the Quraysh as a whole and they were determined to take action.” Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, p.76.

the rebels held fast to their views, and, finally, ‘Alī had no choice but to resort to military force.

The two armies confronted each other at the Battle of the Camel. Thousands were killed in that battle, which ended in the defeat of the rebels and the caliph’s regaining control of the state.¹⁰

As soon as the Battle of the Camel was over, the Caliph had to face another challenge, this time from Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. The latter gave the same reason for his dissent as that of the previous group of rebels, namely, that ‘Alī had not done enough to punish the assassins of ‘Uthmān.

Again, when his efforts at peaceful persuasion failed, Caliph ‘Alī was obliged to use military force to bring the rebels into line. He mustered a large army from the Hījāz and Iraq, and confronted the rebels at Şiffin in 37 AH. The battle was long and hard, and might have ended in a victory for the caliph but for a particular incident. Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, who was with him, decided to set a trap. ‘Amr suggested to Mu‘āwiyah that they hold copies of the Qur’an on their spearheads to indicate that the Qur’an was to be the judge between them and ‘Alī. On seeing this, the followers of ‘Alī were divided in their reactions.¹¹ Some recognized that it was only a trap: no arbitration was necessary since the matter was very clear. However, others pointed out that arbitration would be a good idea to bring the war between the

¹⁰ Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 7/230–246; al-Shaybānī, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tā’rikh*, 2/568–612; Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp.246–252.

¹¹ Muir, *The Caliphate*, p.263.

Muslims to an end. The division in the ranks of ‘Alī’s army was exactly what Mu‘āwiyah wanted.¹²

At first, Caliph ‘Alī refused to end the fighting because he realized that a trap had been set. Finally, however, he was obliged to give way to pressure from his followers and call a halt to hostilities.

‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah decided to go to arbitration, each selecting an arbiter from among his followers. Mu‘āwiyah chose ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ. ‘Alī at first wanted to choose his cousin, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, who was very intelligent and the best person to be an arbiter. However, al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays, who was one of ‘Alī’s army leaders and a member of the Nizār clan from the Yemen, objected, saying that it was impossible for both arbiters to be members of the Muḍar, the principal tribe in the Hījāz. So, ‘Alī was again forced to choose Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, who was from the same clan as al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays, although he was not as political as ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās.

Cunning ‘Amr was able to trap Abu Mūsā into rejecting his client, while he himself was sure of his client’s homage. Al-Ṭabarī described how ‘Amr achieved his aim:

When ‘Amr and Abu Mūsā met each other in Dawmat al-Jandal, ‘Amr would make Abu Mūsā speak before him, saying: “You are the Companion of Allah’s Prophet (Allah’s peace and blessings be upon him) and you are older than I am. So, you speak first and I shall speak after you.” ‘Amr would make Abū Mūsā precede him in everything so that later, he would be the first to reject ‘Alī. When they met each other, ‘Amr wanted Abū Mūsā to select Mu‘āwiyah for the caliphate, but he refused. Then he wanted him

¹² Al-Dimashqī, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 7/253–278.

to select his [‘Amr’s] son, but again he refused. Abū Mūsā, for his part, wanted ‘Amr to select ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, but he refused.

Then ‘Amr asked him: “What is your opinion?”

He replied: “My opinion is that both of those men [‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah] should be rejected and that the problem of the caliphate should be resolved by holding an election for the Muslims to choose whom they want.”

‘Amr said: “That is a good idea.”

They went out to the people who had assembled. He [‘Amr] said: “O Abū Mūsā, tell them that we have come to an agreement.”

Abū Mūsā spoke as follows: “‘Amr and I have put together our opinions and come to a decision, and we hope that when it is implemented, Allah will take this nation on the path to righteousness.”

‘Amr added: “He is right. O Abū Mūsā, go ahead and tell them [the decision].”

Then Abū Mūsā spoke, conscious of Allah: “O people! We have discussed the problem of this nation. We found that there was nothing better than to implement a decision agreed upon by ‘Amr and myself. We have decided that both ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah should be rejected and that the problem of the caliphate should be resolved by holding an election for the Muslims to choose whom they want. I have rejected ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah. So, choose for yourselves whoever you think is suitable to govern your affairs.” Then he stepped aside.

Then ‘Amr stood up and spoke, conscious of Allah. He said: “You have heard what this man has said. He has rejected his friend [‘Alī]. I also reject his friend as he has done, and I confirm [the choice] of my friend [Mu‘āwiyah] because he has a claim on ‘Uthmān’s blood and he is the worthiest person to replace him.”¹³

The result of the arbitration was just as Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ had planned.

The two arbiters agreed that ‘Alī should be deposed, and at the same time, ‘Amr proposed that Mu‘āwiyah should take over the caliphate.¹⁴

¹³ Muhammad al-Tabari, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*: 5/67-71.

¹⁴ Ibid; Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp.258-265.

Meanwhile, those of ‘Alī’s followers who had rejected arbitration declared that they no longer owed him allegiance because he had accepted to go to arbitration. They decided to elect a new caliph and organized a meeting, at which they chose ‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī as caliph. So the Muslims were already split into three groups and were to be subject to further division in future years.

Following the Battle of Ṣiffin and the decision of the arbiters which contradicted ‘Alī’s wishes, ‘Alī decided to launch another attack against Mu‘āwiyah. However, some of his army leaders suggested that instead, they should fight those who had deserted from the army and joined Ahl al-Nahrawān. Advisers argued that ‘Alī’s army could not attack Mu‘āwiyah, for if they did so, it would allow Ahl al-Nahrawān to attack them from the rear and take the opportunity to seize Iraq.

Although ‘Alī was aware of the weakness of this argument and the fact that his dispute with Mu‘āwiyah was more serious than that with Ahl al-Nahrawān, he yielded to his army leaders’ advice. In the battle that followed in 38 AH/ 659 AC, ‘Alī easily defeated Ahl al-Nahrawān and almost annihilated them.¹⁵ Nevertheless, there were a few survivors who managed to regroup later.

After the battle with Ahl al-Nahrawān, ‘Alī again asked his army leaders to go to Syria to launch another attack against Mu‘āwiyah and compel him to submit to his authority. However, they managed to invent sufficient pretexts to avoid carrying out this plan.

¹⁵ Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*. 5/91.

‘Alī became disillusioned with his army leaders’ behaviour.¹⁶ His army and his followers became scattered, and finally, ‘Alī himself was killed in 40 AH/ 661 AC.

After ‘Alī’s death, his followers chose his first-born son, al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, to be their caliph. However, yet again, Mu‘āwiyah used his cunning to entrap al-Ḥasan and persuade him to forgo his rightful claim. Using the slogan “Save the blood of the Muslims”, Mu‘āwiyah suggested to al-Ḥasan that it would be in everyone’s interests if he accepted an agreement recognizing Mu‘āwiyah as caliph of all the Muslims. In return, Mu‘āwiyah gave a promise – which was never fulfilled – that al-Ḥasan would be the next caliph after his death. Al-Ḥasan accepted this agreement.¹⁷

Mu‘āwiyah was now able to capture areas that had formerly been under ‘Alī’s control, and so the Umayyad dynasty was established.

Most Muslims, especially religious scholars, doubted the legitimacy of the Umayyad dynasty, for the government had been taken by force and was then inherited by succeeding caliphs instead of being established by consultation according to Islamic law. There was increasing resistance to the Umayyad caliphs, who did not hesitate to resort to violence to suppress it.

Among the rebels were members of the Quraysh, such as the Hashimites. They declared that they had a stronger claim than the Umayyads to form a government. One particularly famous uprising was that of ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, which began in 64 AH/684 AC. He was able to capture the Ḥijāz, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Khurāsān

¹⁶ Ibid., 5/89–91; al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 2/697–724.

¹⁷ Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad, *Siyar ‘A‘lām al-Nubalā’* 3/264; Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 5/162–163; al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 3/6–7.

and part of Syria. The conflict between the two sides continued until he was defeated by the Umayyads and killed in 73 AH/693 AC.¹⁸

Another group that rebelled against the Umayyads were the Ibāḍites, who had split from the Kharijites in 65 AH/685 AC. Their rebellion erupted in Yemen in 129 AH/747 AC, during the last years of the Umayyad dynasty, and spread to the Ḥijāz (Makkah and Medina). However, the Umayyads managed to suppress it two years later.¹⁹

Although these uprisings were unable to destroy the Umayyad government, they seriously weakened it. That gave the Abbasids the opportunity to overthrow it and bring the Umayyad dynasty to an end in 132 AH/750 AC. The Abbasid dynasty was thus established and was to continue for the next five hundred years.

This political conflict spawned a variety of movements in the Islamic state, and gradually took on a doctrinal and juristic appearance. The result was a range of groups and doctrines that differed in their concepts and attitudes. Each group tried to prove that it had a stronger claim than the others to form a government by referring to the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet. This tactic added weight to the Hadith and therefore greater importance to its memorization by each succeeding generation so as to legitimize political movements.

¹⁸ Al-Ḍḥahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, 3/363–380.

¹⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 7/374–376, 7/393–400.

CHAPTER TWO

Types of Doctrinal Conflict in Islam

A: Differences in Politics

It is not easy to classify the political conflicts in the early years of Islam according to differences in doctrine (*'aqīdah*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) because the parties to every political conflict sought to base their claims with reference to these two aspects of the faith. In addition, every difference in *'aqīdah* and *fiqh* could itself be gradually transformed into a political conflict. Each political group struggling for recognition had its own religious character that distinguished it from the others, even if only in part.

So, the classification of doctrinal conflicts under the headings of politics, *'aqīdah* and *fiqh* demands careful scrutiny and well-considered judgement. Therefore, it might be more useful to focus on the origins of the conflict to assess whether it had a political or some other basis, regardless of what it became later. For example, the conflict between the Umayyads and the Abbasids was political in its origins, dating back to the pre-Islamic era.¹ It cannot be classified under any other heading, even if each group tried to give it a religious character. On the other hand, although the conflict between the Umayyads and the Ibādites was based on doctrine, it finally became a military struggle for control of the government. The differences between

¹ Mahdī Razq 'Aḥmad, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, p.63.

religious scholars were based on doctrine, yet they could sometimes turn into political conflict.

As has already been mentioned, a political conflict was one in which politics was the main factor. It could erupt as the result of differences in political opinions, or a historical event or a tribal dispute. It might not have had any direct relationship to differences in religious opinions, even if the parties to the conflict tried to create one by referring to religious sources such as the Qur'an and the Hadith to justify their actions. It did not necessarily mean that religion was separate from politics. For our purposes, the definition of a conflict is based on the strongest factor influencing its appearance and achievement.

THE DAY OF THE HALL MEETING (YAWM AL-SAQĪFAH) ²

The main event which engendered later conflict on the political level happened immediately after the death of the Prophet on the Day of the Hall Meeting.

The Prophet died without designating the next leader of the Muslims, although he had asked Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq to take over as imam when he became too ill to lead the prayers.

After the Prophet's death, the Anṣār gathered in a room called the Saqīfat Banī Sā'idah to discuss the future situation. They agreed to choose Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah as the next caliph of the Muslims.

² Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 3/203–211; al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 2/187–192.

The news reached Abū Bakr, who immediately went to the Hall with ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and asked: “What has happened?”

“One caliph has been chosen from our people and another from yours,” they replied.

“No, we are caliphs and you are ministers,” he said, adding, “I accept either of these two men: ‘Umar or Abū ‘Ubaydah.”

“‘Umar said, “I accept the authority of the person given precedence by the Prophet” and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr. Then the people followed suit.

However, Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until his death. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Banū Hāshim and al-Zubayr also refused until the death of Fāṭimah, the Prophet’s daughter and wife to ‘Alī. Only then did they pledge allegiance.³

It should be noted that it was after the Prophet’s death that this dispute arose among the Muslims over who was the worthiest to succeed him as caliph. There were three parties to this dispute:

1. The Anṣār: They declared that they had the strongest claim to administering the Muslims’ affairs following the Prophet’s death because Islam, which had formerly been in a weak position, had become strong and influential as result of their efforts. They also asserted that they were the natives of Medina, the city where the Islamic state had been established.

Although the Anṣār consisted of two tribes – the Aws and the Khazraj – each of which was the ancient enemy of the other, they initially agreed to pledge allegiance to Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah of the Khazraj. However, the Aws later reconsidered this action, pointing out that if the Khazraj took over the caliphate, they would keep all the power to themselves and refuse to let the Aws have any share in it. They

³ Al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 2/187.

would boast about their achievement forever more. Therefore, the Aws preferred to pledge allegiance to someone from the Muhājirūn, because that seemed to be the better choice.

2. The Muhājirūn (Quraysh): They asserted that they were the worthiest to lead the Muslims after the Prophet's death because the Prophet himself was one of them. They were his tribe and his family. In addition, they were the first to follow the new religion. In the pre-Islamic era, their status among the Arabs had been higher than that of the other tribes. That in itself would encourage obedience from the Arabs to the caliph because the people would be unlikely to accept a caliph from a tribe other than that of the Prophet. These were the main reasons that enhanced the Muhājirūn's claim to the leadership of the Muslims.

3. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his family (the Banū Hāshim): 'Alī declared that he was the worthiest to continue the administration of the Muslim community because he was the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. He gave the same reason as the Quraysh, namely, that the Banū Hāshim were worthier than the other families of the Quraysh to take over the caliphate.

So, even though Abū Bakr was from the Quraysh, he was not one of the Prophet's blood relatives and therefore his claim to the leadership of the Muslims was not considered as strong as that of 'Alī.

It is also said that the Anṣār, in general, supported 'Alī more than Abū Bakr, because they feared that if the Quraysh took over the caliphate, that tribe would take everything for themselves and they [the Anṣār] would be marginalized. That was, indeed, what happened later during the Umayyad Administration. So the Anṣār

preferred ‘Alī because he dealt more strictly with the Quraysh than the others. ‘Alī himself killed between 15 and 23 members of that tribe during the Battle of Badr.⁴

‘Alī refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr until his (‘Alī’s) wife Fāṭimah died and he was left on his own. Then he stated that it was now better for him to pledge allegiance.⁵

The Shi‘ites add another reason for ‘Alī’s refusal to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, which is that the Prophet had appointed ‘Alī as guardian before his death. However, other scholars disagreed with this view. In his description of the Day of the Hall Meeting (*Yawm al-Saqīfah*), al-Ya‘qūbī, of the Shi‘ites, made no mention of ‘Alī or any of his followers providing evidence that the Prophet had appointed ‘Alī caliph after his death. He stated only that al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, ‘Alī’s uncle, said to Abū Bakr, when the latter asked that his status of caliph be recognized:

The Messenger of Allah is a tree, of which we [his kinsmen] are its branches. All you [other members of the Quraysh] are only its neighbours.⁶

It can be seen that the dispute at the Day of the Hall Meeting was based on politics.

The evidence produced by every dissenting group brings us back to political views

⁴ Hasan al-Mālikī, *Qirā’ah fī Kutub al-‘Aqāid*, p.46.

⁵ Al-Ya‘qūbī, in his book *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, mentioned that ten people refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr: al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl ibn al-‘Abbās, al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, Khālīd ibn Sa‘īd, al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr, Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dhar al-Ghufārī, ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir, al-Barā’ ibn ‘Āzib and ‘Ubayy ibn Ka‘b. Ahmad al-Ya‘qūbī, ‘Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, 2/123. See also, Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, pp.28–38.

⁶ Al-Ya‘qūbī, ‘Aḥmad, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, 2/126.

and the commonwealth. None of it came from religious sources which could not be contradicted.

CONFLICT AMONG THE QURAYSH

Conflict among the members of the Quraysh tribe began long before the coming of Islam. The Quraysh held a high status among the Arab tribes because they inhabited Makkah, the Holy Land of the Arabs, and were descended from their illustrious ancestor, Abraham.

The Arabs had always made the pilgrimage to Makkah to perform the religious rituals at the Ka'bah and its idols. The Quraysh had the honour of serving the pilgrims during the rituals. It is narrated that Quṣayy ibn Kilāb, a great ancestor of the Quraysh, was a leader of the tribe in his time. He assumed the responsibility of the *rifādah*⁷ (catering for the pilgrims), *siqāyah* (providing them with water), *hijābah* or *sadānah*⁸ (looking after the Ka'bah) and *liwā'* (the flag of war).

When Quṣayy became too old to perform these functions, they were allocated to his eldest son, 'Abd al-Dār. However, the sons of 'Abd al-Dār and his brothers differed over who should assume this responsibility and were on the point of open conflict. Finally, they agreed to divide the functions among them. *Rifādah* and

⁷ According to the Arabic dictionary, *rifādah* refers to the co-operation among the members of the Quraysh before the coming of Islam. Everyone donated as much money as he/she could afford, so a large sum was collected during the time of the pilgrimage. They would buy for the pilgrims meat and other food, as well as raisins for making wine. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 5/264.

⁸ According to the Arabic dictionary, *sadānah* means looking after the Ka'bah and the idols and holding the keys to the Ka'bah. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 6/220; al-Fayrüz 'Ābādī. *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, p.1555.

siqāyah were allocated to the sons of ‘Abd Manāf, and *hijābah* and the care of the flag to the sons of ‘Abd al-Dār. However, the rivalry among them did not end there.⁹

The conflict partly reflected the reaction of the Quraysh to the Prophet’s new religion, since many of them refused to accept it. Their refusal was not due to lack of belief,¹⁰ but to their feelings of envy towards the Prophet and his clan of Hāshim’s sons.

It is narrated that someone asked Abū Jahl, ‘Amr ibn Hishām:

What do you think about what you heard from Muhammad [the Qur’an]?”

He replied:

The sons of ‘Abd Manāf and we competed for honours. They provided food [for the pilgrims and guests] and we also provided food [for them]. They gave [money to the poor] and we too gave some.

However, when we were all neck and neck like racehorses, they [the sons of ‘Abd Manāf] said: “We have a prophet receiving a revelation from Heaven! When are we going to receive such an honour? I swear by Allah, we shall never believe him.”¹¹

Although the Prophet was from the Quraysh, his fellow tribespeople were the bitterest enemy of Islam. They launched numerous attacks against the Muslim community. That was why many of the Quraysh did not accept Islam until after the conquest of Makkah. That in itself raised doubts about their true commitment to the religion.

⁹ Mahdī Razq ‘Aḥmad, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, p.63.

¹⁰ According to the Qur’an: “We know indeed that what they say certainly grieves you [O Muhammad], but surely they do not call you a liar; yet the unjust deny the communications of Allah” (6:33).

¹¹ Al-Ṣallābī, ‘Alī, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah* 1/234; Al-Mallaḥī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Dawāfi ‘Inkār Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq* p.8.

After the death of the Prophet, there was fierce conflict among the Quraysh over who should hold the various offices and implement the laws and regulations in the Islamic state. It is said that following the caliphate of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, who was an Umayyad, the Umayyads decided not to allow any outsider to hold that office. Consequently, when ‘Uthmān was assassinated, Mu‘āwiyah rebelled against ‘Alī, apparently seeking to avenge the death of ‘Uthmān. However, in reality, he was aiming to keep the caliphate within the Umayyad dynasty, which is exactly what happened later.¹²

During the era of the Umayyads, there were numerous rebellions against the government. Most of them were led by members of the Quraysh, who did not belong to the Umayyad family, and were aimed at bringing down the Umayyad government. The most famous of these rebellions were those led by al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a Hashimite), ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr from the Makhzūm (a powerful clan of the Quraysh), and finally, the Abbasids, who planned their campaign for a long time until they succeeded in bringing the Umayyad caliphate to its end.

After the establishment of their caliphate, the Abbasids realized that the major threat to their government came from the Quraysh. Therefore, they mercilessly hunted down and killed every member of the Umayyads that they could find. The only survivors were those who managed to escape or disappear. The Abbasids were also very wary of the Hashimites. Some were put to death, others were imprisoned,

¹² Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’* 3/136.

and the rest sought conciliation. Nevertheless, the Abbasids were confronted by many rebellions by the Hashimites, although none was successful.¹³

B: Differences in 'Aqīdah

The first controversy in *'aqīdah* which occurred between the Muslims after the death of the Prophet Muhammed was the death of the Prophet itself. When the news of the death of the Prophet reached the Muslims, some of them were shocked and could not believe it. In fact, some of them denied the fact and stated that it was impossible for the Prophet to die and that he had been raised to Heaven as had Prophet Jesus before him. However, Abū Bakr confronted this issue and brought those who misunderstood to the correct path by reciting the following Qur'anic verse:

Muhammad is no more than a Messenger: many were the messengers that passed away before him. If he died or were slain, would you then turn back on your heels? If any did turn back on his heels, not the least harm would he do to Allah; but Allah [on the other hand] will swiftly reward those who [serve him] with gratitude. (3:144)

He succeeded in convincing those people that the Prophet had really died as the other prophets had died before him. Finally, they all believed him and accepted that the Prophet had died, just like any other human being.¹⁴

Differences in *'aqīdah* developed side by side with political differences. Initially, the differences among the Muslims over who deserved to succeed the Prophet in ruling the Islamic state and becoming the first caliph were based on

¹³ Al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 5/22-24.

¹⁴ Ibid, 2/186.

political views of what was best for the Muslims' interest. This slowly changed into a conflict about faith after a link has been made between it and faith. It was asserted that there was evidence from the Qur'an and the Hadith mentioning that the caliphate must be given to a specific person and no other, and that giving the caliphate to others was illegal. In this way, what had been initially considered a simple political difference changed into a conflict about religious texts and about the Shari'ah itself.

This led to the formation of different political groups. However, the differences between them did not stop at political issues, but rather extended to the development of independent principles for interpreting and understanding religious texts. This, in turn, led to differences in opinion over creed as well as jurisprudential rulings. Hence these groups could be categorized not only as different political parties or movements but also as different faith sects belonging to different schools of thought with regard to *fiqh*. The following is a brief account of some of the major groups which have distinct concepts of the creed.

AHL AL-SUNNAH WA AL-JAMĀ'AH¹⁵

This was initially formed by the Muslim jurists and narrators, and especially the four Imams (Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, al-Shāf'ī, Ibn Ḥanbal), who had their own opinions of *'aqidah* which differed from those of the Shi'ites, the Kharijites and the Mu'tazilites.

The ideology and concepts of this group were completed towards the end of the third century AH by two of their great scholars:

¹⁵ The name of (*Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*) is derived from the Prophet's Sunna and the Muslim community. Hibat Allāh al-Lālikā'i. *Sharḥ 'Itqād Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, 1/170–207; Al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1/106–118.

Al-‘Ash‘arī (260–324 AH/874–936 AC) Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Ishāq al-Ash‘arī, was born in Basrah. He studied the doctrine of the Mu‘tazilites to the level of a scholar. However, later he changed his views and opposed their ideas. He lived in Baṣrah, where he was influenced by the Mu‘tazilites and their ideologies, for he was a student of Abu ‘Alī Al-Jabbā‘ī, also a Mu‘tazilite. Then Abu al-Ḥasan developed his own ideology, which in some ways contradicted the opinions of the Mu‘tazilites. He was renowned for his scholarship. It is said that he produced 300 compilations, among which are *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* and *al-‘Ibānah fī ‘Uṣūl al-Diyānah*.¹⁶

Al-Māturīdī (d. 333AH/944 AC) Abū Maṣṣūr, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī, was born and died in Samarqand. He followed Imam Abu Ḥanīfah. There are a few differences between these two scholars.¹⁷

He compiled many books such as *al-Tawḥīd* and *Awhām al-Mu‘tazilah*.¹⁸

The Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah are more inclined to interpret the verses of the Qur’an and the Hadith literally rather than from the rational point of view as did the Mu‘tazilites. They also have their own opinion about the issue of the caliphate, for they say that the caliph has to be from the tribe of Quraysh, although they do not believe in the existence of a text supporting the appointment of Imam ‘Alī by the Prophet. Generally speaking, they also concede to a dictator who comes to power by

¹⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 4/263; Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’* 15/85–90.

¹⁷ Al-Ḥarbī, *Al-Māturīdiyyah*, 491–501; Muṣṭafā ibn Muṣṭafā. *‘Uṣūl wa Tārīkh al-Firaq al-‘Islāmiyyah*, pp.599–652.

¹⁸ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 7/19; Aḥmad al-Ḥarbī, *al-Māturīdiyyah*, 93–114.

force and say that people should obey him and should not rebel against him. There are many sects among Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah with differences between them.¹⁹

THE SHI‘ITES²⁰

The Shi‘ites consist of different groups with different ideologies. However, what is common to them all is their respect for ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his family and descendants. The roots of this concept originate in the initial differences between the Companions over who deserved to succeed the Prophet as leader of the Muslims: was it the Muhājirīn, the Anṣār or ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib?

The reality of the matter is that it is not possible to prove that ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was appointed by the Prophet to be his successor. The basis of ‘Alī’s argument was very similar to that put forward by the Muhājirūn, which is a kind of political interest: it was important to have a caliph who was closely related to the Prophet, for the people would be more inclined to follow him. So there is no evidence of ‘Alī’s assertion that the Prophet had nominated him as his successor.²¹

The Companions of the Prophet managed to pass over this conflict swiftly and solve the problem in a brotherly atmosphere. Nevertheless, the seed for the assertion that ‘Alī deserved this position remained for somebody to irrigate it and make it

¹⁹ Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-‘Islāmiyyah*, pp.161–186.

²⁰ Al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1/146–198; Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology*, 174–229; Muhammad Abū Zahrah, *Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-‘Islāmiyyah* pp.33–59; William Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, pp.38–62; Muṣṭafā ibn Muṣṭafā, *‘Uṣūl wa Tārīkh al-Firaq al-‘Islāmiyyah*, pp.165–370.

²¹ ‘Aḥmad al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, 2/126.

grow. It was fertilized with reference texts from the Qur'an and the Hadith emphasising that 'Alī was the only person worthy of that office and that appointing someone else instead was like usurping his rightful claim. The difference was further deepened by the assertion that this office should be held only by 'Alī and his descendants. What intensified this difference was the conflict which erupted between the Umayyads and 'Alī, the abdication of his son Al-Ḥasan to allow Mu'āwiyah to reign, and the killing of his second son, al-Ḥusayn.

This led to the continual struggle of the Shi'ite groups to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate. Hence they began to recruit people under the banner of love for the Prophet's family and the restoration of their rights. However, all their efforts did not succeed in forming an independent state for the Shi'ites.

In the second century AH/eighth century AC, there occurred a division among the Shi'ites after the death of the Imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in 148 AH/765 AC. The Imam had a first-born son called Ismā'īl, who had died during the lifetime of his father in 143 AH/760 AC, or possibly earlier. On the death of Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, some of the Shi'ites asserted that the next leader should be the eldest of his surviving sons, who happened to be Mūsā. However, other Shi'ites asserted that the Imamate should be bestowed on the eldest of Ismā'īl's sons and then passed to the eldest son of each succeeding generation of Ismā'īl's branch of the family. Mūsā's supporters pointed out that Ismā'īl had died before his father. Therefore, he could not be in line for the Imamate since that position could not be taken over by a dead person. Some of Ismā'īl's supporters responded by asserting that he had not died during his father's lifetime, as

his father had alleged. Instead, the Imam had hidden his son to protect him from the Abbasids, who wanted him dead.²²

The movement further developed from being related only to the question of leadership to encompass every aspect of the religion. Hence, for the Shi'ites, the Imam is infallible and has to be obeyed by his followers, according to their interpretation of certain verses of the Qur'an and Sayings of the Prophet. In their view, the Imam is omniscient, because Allah would not ask people to obey an ignorant person. Therefore, all the commands and actions of the Imam are guarded by Allah and the verdict of the Imam is immune from error, as is true of the prophets of Allah.²³ Some Shi'ites even went as far as to say that an Imam must produce a miracle as evidence for his appointment by Allah and that he should be the natural successor of his predecessor. Therefore, the leadership of an Imam is valid only if his predecessor appoints him or if he manages to convince the people with a miracle from Allah.²⁴

The Shi'ite Imamites believe in the infallibility of the following twelve Imams:

‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (23 BH – 40 AH/600–661 AC)²⁵

Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (3–50 AH/624–670 AC)²⁶

Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (4–61 AH/625–680 AC)²⁷

Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (38–94 AH/658–712 AC)²⁸

²² Al-Shahristānī, Muḥammad, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* 1/196-197; Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* p 271-272; Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 1/311–312.

²³ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology*, p.189.

²⁴ ‘Alī ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī, *al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 3/10–12; Muṣṭafā Ibn Muṣṭafā, *‘Uṣūl wa Tārikh al-Firaq al-‘Islāmiyyah*, p.314.

²⁵ Al-Zirikli, Khayr al-Dīn, *Al-A‘lām* 4/437.

²⁶ Ibid., 2/313.

²⁷ Ibid., 2/380.

²⁸ Ibid., 4/410.

Al-Bāqir, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (57–114 AH/676–732 AC)²⁹
 Al-Ṣādiq, Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (80–148 AH/699–765 AC)³⁰
 Al-Kāẓim, Mūsā ibn Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad (128–183 AH/745–799 AC)³¹
 Al-Riḍa, ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja‘far (153–203 AH/770–818 AC)³²
 Al-Jawād, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Mūsā (195–220 AH/811–835 AC)³³
 Al-Hadi, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (214–254 AH/829–868 AC)³⁴
 Al-‘Askari, Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (232–260 AH/846–873 AC)³⁵
 Al-Mahdi al-Muntaẓar, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (256–275 AH/870–888 AC)³⁶

It is important to emphasize that not all Shi‘ites share the same beliefs. There are many sects and groups within the Shi‘ites, each of which has its own concepts and beliefs. There are some who are extreme and others who are moderate. Some of these groups were so extreme that they went outside the boundaries of Islam. For example, some groups believed in the divinity of Imam ‘Alī and that he was God, others believed in the reincarnation of the soul from one Imam to an other. There were even groups who asserted that the Angel Gabriel made a mistake in giving the revelation to Prophet Muhammad and that he was supposed to reveal it to ‘Alī.³⁷

The main sects of the Shi‘ites which still exist to this day are the Imāmites, the Zaydites, and the Ismā‘īlites. Each of these groups has its own views regarding the caliphate, creed and *fiqh*.

²⁹ Ibid., 6/388.

³⁰ Ibid., 2/194.

³¹ Ibid., 7/351

³² Ibid., 5/36.

³³ Ibid., 6/390.

³⁴ Ibid., 4/480.

³⁵ Ibid., 2/314-315.

³⁶ Ibid., 6/112.

³⁷ Al-Shahristānī, Muḥammad, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* 1/203-222.

3. THE KHARIJITES³⁸

The Kharijites first appeared as a separate group after the battle of Şıffīn and the arbitration.³⁹ When Mu‘āwiyah and those with him raised a copy of the Qur’an on the battlefield and called to the people to stop fighting and go back to the Qur’an to solve the conflict, ‘Alī and many of his followers understood this to be a tactic to avoid defeat. Thus ‘Alī refused to stop fighting until the rebels submitted to the legal caliph. However, a group of his soldiers, led by al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays, insisted on accepting the suggestion to avoid bloodshed by adhering to the Book of Allah.⁴⁰ Although ‘Alī tried to explain the position to them, eventually he had to accept their opinion and thus declare an end to the war and resort to arbitration (*taḥkīm*).

³⁸ William Montgomery Watt gives in his book, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* pp.15–16, the reason of this denomination:

“Khārijites is an anglicised form representing the Arabic *Khawārij* or *Khārijīyya*, which may be described as a plural and collective noun respectively; a single person is *Khārijī*. These are derivatives of the verb *Kharaja*, ‘go out’. This word can be understood in various ways, however, of which four are relevant to explanation of the name ‘Khārijites’. These are as follows:

1. The Khārijites are those who ‘went out’ or ‘made a secession’ from the camp of ‘Alī.
2. They are those who went out from among the unbelievers ‘making the Hijra to God and his messenger’, that is, breaking all social ties with unbelievers.
3. They are those who have ‘gone out against’ (*Kharaja ‘alā*) ‘Alī in the sense of rebelling against him.
4. They are those who go out and take an active part in the *jihād*, in contrast to those who ‘sit still’; the two groups, and the concepts of *khurīj*, ‘going out’, and *qu‘ūd*, ‘sitting still’, are contrasted in the Qur’ān.

For all of these interpretations there is justification, in the sense that some persons employed them at some period. The problem is to know which persons and when.”

See also, Naşir al-Sāb‘ī, *Al-Khawārij wa Ḥaqīqah al-Gā’ibah*, pp.151–158.

³⁹ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology*, p.170

⁴⁰ In his book, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*, pp.75–76, M.A. Shaban states that the *Qurra’* were the group which forced ‘Alī to accept the arbitration and then they decided later to split from his group. This view was held by others. However, historical narrations tell that a group led by al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays did so. See, Naşir al-Sāb‘ī, *al-Khawārij wa Ḥaqīqah al-Gā’ibah*, pp.67–68.

The group who rejected the idea of arbitration thought that ‘Alī had missed the truth by giving in and that he had lowered himself to a position equal to Mu‘āwiyah, the leader of those who had rebelled against him. Hence he had violated his own right to the position of caliph by making it matter of negotiation, and thus they decided to split from his group and form their own. They called themselves al-Muḥakkimah and resorted to al-Nahrawān, waiting to see where the conflict was going to lead.

The arbitration ended just as planned by Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ which was to remove the legal right of ‘Alī to the caliphate. The decision was rejected by ‘Alī and he decided to prepare his army to fight Mu‘āwiyah once again. However, al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays suggested to ‘Alī that he should begin with the people of al-Nahrawān, for they might control the areas that belonged to him when he was away in Syria fighting Mu‘āwiyah.

‘Alī went to negotiate with the people of Al-Nahrawān and tried to convince them to join him in the fight against Mu‘āwiyah. By that time, however, they had already appointed ‘Abd Allah ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī as caliph when they realized that the Muslims had no leader. Hence they refused to join ‘Alī, although they asked him to join them instead and give allegiance to the appointed caliph. ‘Alī did not agree to that proposal. He launched an attack against them and won a victory, killing the majority of them in the process.⁴¹

⁴¹ A. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*, 2/212; al-Sābi‘ī, *Al-Khawārij wa Al-Ḥaqāiq al-Ghāyibah*, pp.67–74.

Events did not turn out as ‘Alī would have liked after this battle, for his army refused to fight Mu‘āwiyah. ‘Alī did not manage to convince them. This continued until ‘Alī was assassinated in 40 AH/ 661 AC.

The remnants of the people of al-Nahrawān (the Muḥakkimah) reassembled themselves and continued to preach their principles. They concentrated on highlighting the illegality of the Umayyad caliphate because, in their opinion, it was not based on the correct procedure. Its caliphs inherited the office or took it by force instead of being chosen by consultation (*shūrā*) and elected by the Muslims. Furthermore, they disclosed the injustices committed by the Umayyad caliphs as well as the fact that they were not pious, did not have enough religious knowledge and did not avoid major sins.

They began to call people to return to the real Islamic state as it was at the time of the Prophet and the caliphs after him, based on *shūrā*. They should return to the Book of Allah and the teachings of his Prophet, and the caliph should be chosen by the people according to his knowledge and piety, rather than the influence of his lineage or tribe.

Although the Muḥakkimah tried several times to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate, they were not successful in any of their attempts, for they faced strong opposition from the Umayyad leaders, who tried every method to eliminate them. This led to extreme ideas appearing among the Kharijites such as their ruling that the Umayyads were not Muslims and that all those who helped them or remained under them were disbelievers. They continued asking the Muslims to support them and migrate from this land of unbelievers to join them. These ideas produced divisions

amongst the Kharijites and the formation of different groups such as the Ibādites, the Azāriqah, the Şufrites and the Najadāt. The Ibādites remained in the mainstream, still regarding those who disagreed with them as Muslims. On the other hand, some groups went to extremes, declaring that anyone who did not agree with them was not a Muslim and should be treated as a non-Muslim. Most of these groups died out, apart from the Ibādites.⁴²

4. THE MU'TAZILITES

The Mu'tazilites did not form a distinct group because of a reformer or a specific incident, but rather because of different circumstances. After the advent of the Islamic state and many different regions and nations converting to Islam, including Africa and Andalusia, many diverse cultures and customs intermingled. Numerous fire-worshippers, Christians, Jews, Greeks and Romans became Muslim, although some of the old concepts and creeds remained in their minds. This led to a theological revolution among the Muslims, for they had to produce logical arguments about Islam. The non-Muslims were not likely to accept the Qur'an and Hadith without being logically convinced of their being divine sources.

Before the establishment of the Mu'tazilites, Islamic ideology was based on textual transmission and the use of intellect in understanding these texts. However, now it became important to argue logically and philosophically with non-Muslims

⁴² Al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1/114–138; al-Zāhirī, *al-Fiṣal fi al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 3/124–127; 'Amr Khalīfah al-Nāmī, *Studies in Ibadhism*, pp.16–20; Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, pp.9–37. See also, Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, pp.172–174; Muṣṭafā Ibn Muṣṭafā, *'Uṣūl wa Tārīkh al-Firaq al-'Islāmiyyah*, pp.88–184.

about the truth of this religion. Hence, the leaders of the Mu'tazilites began studying the writings of the Greeks, Roman, Christians, Jews and other civilizations. This provided a basis for explaining the flaws in earlier beliefs and establishing the superiority of Islam as a religion and a way of life. The Mu'tazilites were very successful in exposing the shortcomings and mistakes of the other ways of life and, at the same time, explaining the beauty and appropriateness of Islam to lead humanity to peace and salvation.

However, this movement was opposed by some scholars, who thought that the Mu'tazilites went to extremes in using their limited intellect and reasoning to the extent that sometimes they would prefer it over religious texts. These scholars thought that, by doing that, the Mu'tazilites had understood some articles of faith in a way contrary to the religious texts.

This difference continued to be intellectual until it was influenced by politics during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, who was inclined towards the Mu'tazilites' ideas. He began to seek closer contact with them and gave them high positions in his government.⁴³ When the Mu'tazilites stated that the Qur'an was created by Allah, this was firmly rejected by other scholars. However, al-Ma'mūn supported the Mu'tazilites, declaring that the people should believe in this concept and whoever rejected it was to be punished and imprisoned. This crisis, which continued after the reign of al-Ma'mūn until the time of al-Wāthiq, increased the gap between the Mu'tazilites and their opponents. This resulted in hatred towards the Mu'tazilites until they

⁴³ Muir, *The Caliphate*, 506–507.

vanished as an independent group, although their ideas remained widespread in many other groups.⁴⁴

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE MU'TAZILITES

Al-Ghazzāl (80–131 AH/700–748 AC). Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' al-Ghazzāl. He is considered the founder of the Mu'tazilite doctrine. He was born in Medina and grew up in Basrah, where he studied under al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. However, he withdrew (*i'tazla*) from al-Ḥasan's circle, lesson, and established his own group.⁴⁵ That was why he and his adherents were called the Mu'tazilites. The name was derived from the Arabic verb *i'tazala*, meaning to withdraw. Wāṣil sent his students to many countries, including Morocco and Yemen, as well as to the city of Kufa. The Mu'tazilite doctrine was widespread before Wāṣil's death in Basrah.⁴⁶

Al-Jabbā'ī (235–303 AH/849–916 AC). Abū 'Alī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Salām al-Jabbā'ī. He was born in Basrah and was one of the most famous scholars of the Mu'tazilites. He died in Basrah, leaving a large volume on the interpretation of the Qur'an.⁴⁷

Al-Qāḍī (d. 415 AH/1025 AC). Al-Qāḍī, 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī. He was a judge in al-Rayy and was well known as Qāḍī

⁴⁴ Al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, 1/43–85; al-Zāhirī, *al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 3/128–141; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-'Islāmiyyah*, pp.124–159; Montgomery, Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, pp.209–250; Muṣṭafa ibn Muṣṭaf, *Uṣūl wa Tārīkh al-Firaq al-'Islāmiyyah*, pp.371–479.

⁴⁵ Montgomery, Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* p.209

⁴⁶ Al-Zirikli, *Al-A'lam*, 8/108–109.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 6/256.

al-Quḍāh (the Chief Judge). He died in al-Rayy. He produced some compilations such as *Sharḥ al-'Uṣūl al-Khamsah* and *al-Mughnī*.⁴⁸

Al-Zamakhsharī (467–538 AH/1075–1144 AC). Jār Allah, Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Zamakhsharī. He was born in Zamakhshar (Khwārizim, Persia) and moved to Makkah, where he stayed for a long time. That was why he was called Jār Allah (the neighbour of Allah). He returned to Khwārizim, where he died. He compiled a number of books, including *al-Kashshāf*, on the interpretation of the Qur'an.⁴⁹

C. Differences in *Fiqh*

It is difficult to find differences among the Muslims during the lifetime of the Prophet because he was their sole source of guidance in religious affairs. If they needed information on any aspect of Islam, they would go to the Prophet, put their questions to him and he would give them the appropriate answers.

Nevertheless, it did happen occasionally that there were differences in the views of the Companions. For example, they might ask him to judge which of two opinions was correct, and he might decide that both were equally valid. In later years, his response was taken as evidence that differences are acceptable in some aspects of Islam, and that more than one view could be correct. In addition, each party to the conflict should accept that the other party had the right to hold that view.

⁴⁸ Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* 17/244-245.

⁴⁹ Al-Zrikli, *Al-A'lām*, 7/178.

The well-known example is related by ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar. Around 6 AH/ 627 AC, the Banü Qurayzah broke their treaty with the Muslims and joined the enemy tribes in attacking them. The following hadith refers to an incident after the battle, when the Muslims were on their way to punish the Banü Qurayzah for their treachery.

The Messenger of Allah commanded us on the day when he returned from [fighting] the [enemy] troops, “Do not perform the ‘Aṣr prayer until you reach the territory of the Banü Qurayzah.” Some people feared that the time [allowed] for the ‘Aṣr prayer would soon end, so they performed the prayer before reaching the territory of the Banü Qurayzah.

However, others said, “We shall not pray until the place where the Messenger of Allah asked us to do so, even if the ‘Aṣr time has ended.” He [the Prophet] did not reprimand either of the two groups.⁵⁰

This case shows us clearly that Islam generally does not oppose difference in views, for that is part of every human being. It is impossible to agree on everything, as underlined in the Qur’an:

They will not cease disputing except those on whom your Lord has bestowed His mercy” (11:118–119).

Scholars take this statement as evidence that what is right can assume numerous forms, and those who hold a particular view should not reprimand others who see the matter in a different light.

After the death of the Prophet, many of his Companions taught Islam and implemented *fatwās*. The four caliphs and others, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ‘Umar ibn

⁵⁰ Muhammad al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/321.

al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr, Anas ibn Mālīk and Abū Hurayrah were famous for their knowledge of Islam and *fiqh*.

There is no doubt that there were some differences among these Companions in their level of knowledge, their methods of extracting judgments, and their memorization of the Hadith. This resulted in differences in their judgement of certain religious issues. The first – and probably the best-known example – was the conflict over who was the most worthy candidate to succeed to the caliphate after the death of the Prophet as we have discussed above.

Conflict among the Companions over religious issues was usually between individuals, though it occasionally arose between groups. For example, the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn differed over the requirement of washing the whole body when marital intercourse had taken place without ejaculation. According to Zurārah ibn Abī Ja‘far:

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb gathered the Companions of the Prophet and said: “What do you say about a man who has marital intercourse with a woman without ejaculation?”

The Anṣār said: “Water requires water.”⁵¹

The Muhājirūn said: “If both sets of genitals [those of the man and the woman] come into contact, then it is obligatory to wash the whole body.”

‘Umar then said to ‘Alī: “What do you say, Abū al-Ḥasan?”

He replied: “You impose stoning and flogging, but not a *ṣā’*⁵² of water. If both sets of genitals are in contact, then washing the whole body is obligatory.”

⁵¹ This expression means that washing the whole body is compulsory only when marital intercourse includes the ejaculation of semen (water).

⁵² A *ṣā’* is approximately 8 pounds.

‘Umar said: “What the Muhājirūn have said is the correct opinion. Forget what the Anṣār have said.”⁵³

In addition, al-Bukhārī narrated via Abū Salamah that he said:

A man came to Ibn ‘Abbās, when Abū Hurayrah was sitting with him, and said: “Give me a *fatwā* about a woman who gave birth forty days after the death of her husband [is her ‘*iddah* – waiting period – finished?].”

Ibn ‘Abbās said: “She must wait another two menstrual cycles [to complete the total of four months and ten days].”

I [Abu Salamah] said: “For expectant mothers, their ‘*iddah* [prescribed waiting period] is until they give birth” [the Qur’an, 65:4].

Abu Hurayrah said: “I agree with my nephew,” meaning Abū Salamah.

Then Ibn ‘Abbas sent his slave Kurayb to ‘Umm Salamah [the Prophet’s wife] to ask her. She said: “Subay‘ah al-Aslamiyyah’s husband was killed during her pregnancy. She gave birth forty days later. Then she was betrothed. The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) gave her in marriage to her betrothed.”⁵⁴

It has been noted that conflict between the Companions over issues of *fiqh* usually ended in agreement after one party had related a hadith that was unknown to the other party. Differences among the Companions were more marked in the method of deriving opinions than in the content of the opinions themselves, and these methods in turn had a strong influence on the students whom the Companions taught. This was particularly noticeable during the era of the Successors, who were divided into two main groups: the School of Hadith and the School of *Al-Ra’y*.

The origin of the School of Hadith was in the region of the Hījāz, that is, Makkah and Medina. Among its most famous adherents were the following seven

⁵³ Al-Sālimī, *Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/158.

⁵⁴ Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1864.

scholars: Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, Sulaymān ibn Yasār and Khārijah ibn Zayd.⁵⁵ Some of its scholars came from other regions, such as al-Sha'bī and al-Thawrī from Kufa, and al-Zuhrī and al-Awzā'ī from Syria. These scholars were influenced by their teachers, whose judgement was based only on the Qur'an and the Hadith, without extending it to analogy except in extreme necessity.⁵⁶

In contrast, the origin of the School of *Al-Ra'y* was in Iraq. It was established by 'Alqamah ibn Qays, al-Aswad al-Nakha'ī, Masrūq ibn al-Ajda' al-Hamadānī, 'Ubaydah ibn 'Amr al-Sulaymānī, Shurayḥ ibn al-Hārith and al-Hārith al-A'war. They themselves had studied under 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ūd and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

There is no doubt that each of the Companions had his own group of students who gained a vast amount of knowledge from him and who were influenced by his method of forming a judgement on religious matters. However, there were no boundaries placed on any branch of knowledge, for no Companion had a particular doctrine ascribed to him. The Successors themselves acquired knowledge from all the Companions, for they realized that even if some of them were not as learned as others, they were well versed in a particular aspect of Islam with which the others might not be familiar.

However, in the era following that of the Companions and the Successors, students studied under a single teacher and rarely sought knowledge from other

⁵⁵ 'Abd al-Karīm Zaydān, *al-Madkhal 'ilā Dirāsah al-Sharī'ah al-'Islāmiyyah*, p.117.

⁵⁶ Muhammad Muṣṭafa Shalabī, *Al-Madkhal fī al-Ta'rīf bi al-Fiqh al-'Islāmī*, p.127.

sources. The result was one-sided learning handed down from teacher to student, which later became known as the doctrines of *fiqh*. In addition, some doctrines were established following the conflict between the Muslims in the Civil War.

There were many famous doctrines of *fiqh*. However, some disappeared because their adherents died without passing on their knowledge, while others were neglected because there did not exist a state that accepted them as a formal doctrine.

The best-known doctrines are those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ibāḍ, Zayd ibn ‘Alī, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik ibn Anas, al-Shāfi‘ī, Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Awzā‘ī, al-Thawrī, al-Layth ibn Sa‘d, Al-Ṭabarī, and al-Zāhirī. Of these, the following disappeared, despite their having the same status as the others already mentioned: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, al-Awzā‘ī, al-Thawrī, al-Layth ibn Sa‘d, and al-Ṭabarī.

The following is a brief description of the surviving doctrines in the order in which they appeared:

The Ibaḍites

They were the followers of ‘Abd Allah ibn Ibāḍ al-Tamīmī (22–86 AH/46–705 AC). He supported the views of the Muḥakkimah, who had rejected the arbitration at the Battle of Ṣiffin and had broken away from the army of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The doctrine spread throughout the Arabian Peninsula, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Libya.

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL:

‘Abd Allah ibn Ibāḍ al-Tamīmī lived at the time of the Mu‘āwiyah government.⁵⁷ He was the representative of the Ibaḍites because he held a high position in his tribe, the Tamīm. This situation protected him from harm by the caliphs. He took a political view of the Ibaḍites’ school and even wrote a letter to Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, advising him on certain matters. These factors influenced people’s view of him as the leader of the Ibāḍites and therefore the school was ascribed to him.⁵⁸

However, the real spiritual and scientific leader of the Ibāḍites was Jābir ibn Zayd al-Azdī (21–93 AH/642–712 AC), who established its *fiqh* and faith.⁵⁹ He was born in Oman and moved to Basrah at a young age. He visited Makkah and Medina several times and met many of the Companions. Jābir said about himself:

I have met seventy Companions who had participated in the Battle of Badr and I acquired the knowledge that they had except that of the Sea.⁶⁰

He was referring to ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās, who was called the Sea because of his wide knowledge. Although Jābir was the leader of the Ibāḍites, he could not appear in public because the group was opposed to the current government and therefore he

⁵⁷ Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/61–62.

⁵⁸ Jahlān ‘Addūn, *al-Fikr al-Siyāsī ‘ind al-‘Ibāḍīyyah*, pp.34–36.

⁵⁹ Muhammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1/72.

⁶⁰ Al-Shammākhī, Aḥmad, *Al-Siyar* p.72. see also, Ennami, Amr, *Studies in Ibadhism* p.49.

was liable to be arrested. Later, he was banished to Oman, his country of origin. However, towards the end of his life he returned to Basrah, where he died.⁶¹

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

The school is a combination of the Schools of Hadith and Opinion, although it has its own view of faith and *fiqh*. Like other Islamic schools, it accepts as evidence the Qur'an, the Sunna, *al-ijmā'*⁶² and *al-qiyyās*.^{63 64}

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE SCHOOL

Al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb (80–175 AH/700–793 AC). Al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb ibn 'Amr al-Farāhīdī al-'Umānī al-Baṣrī. He was born in Oman and moved at a young age to Basrah, where he studied under the famous teachers of the Successors. Towards the end of his life, he returned to Oman, where he died. Al-Rabī' was a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*, and compiled the *Musnad of al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb*, which the Ibaḍites consider the primary source of Hadith.⁶⁵

Quṭb al-A'immah (1236–1332 AH/1820–1914 AC). Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Īsā Iṭḥayyish al-'Adawī al-Jazā'irī. He was usually known as Quṭb al-'A'immah (the Pivot of Scholars). He was born and died in an Algerian village called Yaşjin. During

⁶¹ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 2/104.

⁶² *al-ijmā'* is consensus, particularly the consensus of the people of knowledge among the Muslims on matters of *fiqh*. See, Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.134.

⁶³ *Al-qiyyās* is logical deduction by analogy. See, Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.139.

⁶⁴ Mubārak al-Rāshidī, *Abū 'Ubaydah, Muslim ibn Abī Karīmah*, pp.170–171.

⁶⁵ Aḥmad al-Dirjīnī, *Ṭabqāt al-Mashāyikh*, 2/273; Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāshī, *Itḥāf al-A'yān*, 1/51; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 3/14; Ṣāliḥ al-Būsa'idī, *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth 'ind al-'Ibāḍīyah*, pp.49–59.

his life, he participated in the resistance to the French occupation of Algeria. He also produced around three hundred compilations, such as *Taysīr al-Tafsīr*, *Shāmil al-'Aṣl wa al-Far'* and *Sharḥ al-Nīl*.⁶⁶

Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī (?–1332 AH/?–1914 AC. 'Abd Allah ibn Ḥumayd ibn Sallūm al-Sālimī al-'Umānī. He was born in al-Rustāq in Oman and became blind at the age of 12. Later he moved to al-Qābil (also in Oman) and played an important role in the political life of his country. He died in Nizwā, leaving numerous compilations, such as *Ma'ārij al-'Āmāl*, *Tuḥfat al-A'yān* and *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁶⁷

The Zaydites

They were the followers of a school that spread throughout the Hijaz, Iraq and Yemen.⁶⁸

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (79–122 AH/698–740 AC) was born in Medina and studied under his father as well as his brother, Muhammad al-Bāqir and Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā', the founder of the Mutazilite doctrine. Later, he moved to Syria, where Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik imprisoned him for five months. After Zayd was released, he went to Iraq and then returned to Medina. There, some people came to him, asking him to go with them to Kufa and take over the caliphate. So, he moved to Kufa, where he was recognized as caliph by the inhabitants. When

⁶⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 7/156–157.

⁶⁷ Muḥammad al-Sālimī, *Nahḍat al-A'yān*, pp.118–134; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 4/84.

⁶⁸ Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Tā'rikh al-Madhāhib al-'Islāmiyyah*, pp.650–685.

the Umayyads came to hear of this, they attacked the city. Zayd was killed in 122 AH/740 AC after having been betrayed by the people of Kufa. His head was taken away to be impaled on the gates of Damascus. Then, it was taken to Medina and finally to Egypt, where the Egyptians stole it and entombed it.⁶⁹

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

Zayd ibn ‘Alī accepted the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar as valid although he believed that ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was worthier of holding that position. In his opinion, there were no impeccable imams, in contrast to the belief held by other groups of Shi‘ites, nor did he believe in the return of the Mahdī.

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE SCHOOL

Al-Hādī Ilā al-Ḥaqq (220–298 AH/835–911 AC). Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-‘Alawī Al-Hādī Ilā al-Ḥaqq. He was born in Medina and moved to Ṣa‘dah in Yemen in 283 AH/896 AC where he was recognized as caliph. His authority spread to include Yemen, the Ḥijāz, Makkah and Madinah. He continued to hold the caliphate until his death in Ṣa‘dah. During his life he produced many compilations such as *Al-Jāmi‘*.⁷⁰

Al-Amīr al-Ṣan‘ānī (1099–1182 AH/1688–1768 AC). ‘Izz al-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan‘ānī was also known – like his ancestors – as

⁶⁹ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 3/59.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 8/141.

al-Amīr (the Prince). Another name for him was al-Mu'ayyad Bi Allah (the Supported by Allah). He was born in Kaḥlān in Yemen and died in Sana'ā'. He left around a hundred compilations, such as *Subul al-Salām* and *Tawḍīḥ al-Afkār*.⁷¹

Al-Shawkānī (1173–1250 AH/1760–1834 AC). Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Shawkānī was born in Shawkān in Yemen and grew up in Sana'ā', where he became its judge in 1229 AH/1813 AC. He produced 114 compilations, such as *Nayl al-Awṭār*, *al-Sayl al-Jarrār*, and *Fatḥ al-Qadīr*.⁷²

The Ḥanafites

They were the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah, whose school was established as the state doctrine during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193 AH/786–809 AC) under the Abbasid dynasty. That status was repeated under the Ottoman Empire, which enabled the spread of the school over a wide area.

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit al-Tamīmī (80–150 AH/699–767 AC) was born in Kufa, although his family came originally from Persia. He spent most of his life in that city,⁷³ where he was a cloth merchant before turning towards the search for knowledge. Eventually, he became one of the most famous imams in Islam. The amir of Iraq asked him to accept the post of judge, but he refused. The amir repeated his

⁷¹ Ibid., 6/38.

⁷² Ibid., 6/298.

⁷³ Al-Qurashī, 'Abd al-Qadīr, *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyyah*, 1/49–63.

request, but again Abū Ḥanīfah refused. Then the amir swore that he would force him to accept the post, but Abū Ḥanīfah also swore that he would not do so. Then the amir had him put in prison, where he died.⁷⁴

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

The Ḥanafī school is considered an extension of the School of Opinion, *Madrasat al-Ra'y*, which appeared in Iraq in the first century AH, the seventh century AC. Abū Ḥanīfah liked to use the intellect where there was no written text to provide answers to religious issues and even tried to form solutions to problems that might arise in the future.

It is narrated that Abū Ḥanīfah said:

I decide according to what is in the Book of Allah [the Qur'an]. If I cannot find [the appropriate evidence in the Qur'an], then I decide according to what I find in the Sunna of the Prophet (peace be upon him). If I cannot find the evidence either in the Qur'an or in the Sunna of the Prophet, then I take it from the Companions' decisions, choosing what I need and omitting what I do not need. I should give their decisions priority over those of other people. However, if it were a question of resorting to [the decisions of] Ibrāhīm [al-Nakh'ī], al-Sha'bī, Ibn Sīrīn, al-Ḥasan, 'Aṭā' and Ibn al-Musayyib – [he mentioned many men] – then they are people who tried hard [to come to the right decision] and I should try to do as they did.⁷⁵

This narration proves that he accepted the Hadith and gave it priority over other people's decisions. Although the school of Abū Ḥanīfah is considered to belong to the School of Opinion (*Madrasat al-Ra'y*), he was very strict in his acceptance of

⁷⁴ Ibid; 'Aḥmad ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, 5/405; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.166.

⁷⁵ Al-Sibā'ī, *Muṣṭafā al-Sunnah wa Makānatahā fī al-Tashrī' al-Islāmī*, p.402.

hadiths. This policy was particularly important at a time when forged narrations were becoming widespread, including Iraq, where Abū Ḥanīfah was based. Consequently, he rejected many hadiths that had been accepted by Hadith scholars. Yet, he had a wonderful ability to understand opinions and create decisions. However, contemporary scholars criticized him for resorting too often to opinion and this criticism continued after his death.

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE SCHOOL

Abū Yūsuf (113–182 AH/731–798 AC). Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī was born in Kufa and was known as the friend of Abū Ḥanīfah. He taught Hadith and *fiqh*. He spent much time in the company of Abū Ḥanīfah and was influenced by his interpretation of the sources. After the death of Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf spread his friend’s school. He acted as judge during the administrations of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd until his death in Baghdad. His compilations included *al-Kharāj*, *al-‘Āthār* and *al-Jawāmi‘*.⁷⁶

Al-Shaybānī (131–189 AH/748–804). Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Farqad al-Shaybānī was born in Wāsīt and grew up in Kufa, where he taught with Abū Ḥanīfah and followed his school. He moved to Baghdad, where he became a judge.

⁷⁶ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 8/242; al-Zirikli, *al A‘lām*, 8/193; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.167.

He died in Rayy while on a journey. His numerous works included *al-Mabsūṭ* and *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*.⁷⁷

Al-Kāsānī (d. 587 AH/?–1191 AC). ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, Abū Bakr ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Ahmad al-Kāsānī came from Kāsān in Turkey. He moved to Aleppo in Syria and remained there until his death. He wrote the book *Badā’i‘ al- Ṣanā’i‘*.⁷⁸

The Malikites

They were the followers of Malik, whose school was based on the School of Hadith, that is, the school of Medina. It spread throughout Egypt, North Africa and Andalusia.

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Mālik (93–179 AH/712–795 AC). Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik al-Asbaḥī was one of the most famous imams of Medina, the place of his birth, education and death. He had sought knowledge since childhood, and narrated hadiths and studied *fiqh*. Being very religious, he avoided the company of amirs and kings. However, someone told Ja‘far, the uncle of the caliph, that Mālik was opposed to the government. On hearing this, Ja‘far whipped Mālik until his shoulder was dislocated. In later years, Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd sent for him to come and teach him. Mālik replied that the caliph must

⁷⁷ Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2/172; ‘Abd al-Qadīr al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyyah*, 2/42; Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām* 6/80; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.168.

⁷⁸ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 2/70; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Kāsānī, *Badā’i‘ al- Ṣanā’i‘* , 1/9–11 (the publisher’s Introduction).

come to the source of knowledge. Therefore, Hārūn al-Rashīd came to Mālik's home. When he sat down for the lesson, he leant against the wall. So Mālik said: "Oh, Leader of the Believers, to respect the Prophet, you have to respect knowledge." Then the caliph sat down in front of Mālik for his lesson. During his life, Mālik wrote numerous books and letters such as *al-Muwaṭṭa'*.

Mālik has his own opinions in '*Aqīdah*. When he was asked about *Istiṭwā'*, he said: "*Istiṭwā'* is known; the 'how' of it is inconceivable; belief in it is obligatory; and asking about it is a heresy"⁷⁹

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

Imam Mālik was a scholar of both Hadith and *fiqh*. He followed the School of Hadith, the school of his home city. In particular, he did not like to speculate about a topic that had not yet become an issue. His sources of evidence were the Qur'an, the Hadith, *ijmā'* and *qiyās*. However, he included the customs of the people of Medina as additional evidence, for he believed that they were based on what had been passed down from the Prophet, generation after generation. He even considered these customs to be stronger than *ḥadīth al-'āḥād*. Mālik also accepted *al-ḥadīth al-mursal*, which contains a missing link, and narrated many of them in his *Muwaṭṭa'*.

⁷⁹ Abū Nu'aym al-'Aṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 6/316–355; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1/207; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 10/5–8, al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 5/257–258; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.161.

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE SCHOOL

Ibn Saḥnūn (202–256 AH/817–870 AC). Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (Saḥnūn) ibn Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī was from Qayrawān in North Africa. He moved to the East in 235 AH. His numerous compilations included *al-Jāmi‘* and *al-Siyar*.⁸⁰

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (368–463 AH/978–1071 AC). Abū ‘Umar, Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namīrī al-Qurṭubī was born in Cordova in Andalusia. He was also known as Ḥāfiẓ al-Maghrib, the Scholar of the West. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr travelled throughout the west and east of Andalusia in search of knowledge and also acted as a judge. He died in Shatiba in Andalusia, leaving many compilations such as *al-Tamhīd limā fī Muwaṭṭa’ Mālik min al-Asānīd* and *al-Istidhkār fī Sharḥ Madhāhib ‘Ulamā’ al-Amṣār*.⁸¹

Ibn Rushd (the Grandson) (520–595 AH/1126–1198 AC). Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn Rushd al-Andalusī, the Philosopher, was also known as Averroes in the West. He was called Ibn Rushd the Grandson to distinguish him from his grandfather, Ibn Rushd the Grandfather (450–520 AH/1058–1126 AC), who was also a Malikite scholar. Caliph Abū Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (d. 595 AH/1198 AC) was aware of Ibn Rushd’s high standing and treated him with respect. However, Ibn Rushd’s opponents accused him of impiety. Therefore, Caliph al-Manṣūr exiled him to Marrakesh and burned some of his books. In later years, though, he changed his

⁸⁰ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 6/204–205.

⁸¹ Ibn al-‘Imād al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 3/314; al-Ḍḥahabī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 18/153; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 8/240; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.161.

view and allowed him to return home.⁸² It was too late, for Ibn Rushd died and his body was brought back to Cordova. His books include *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid* and *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*.⁸³

The Shafi'ites

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-‘Abbās al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī (150–204 AH/767–820 AC) was born in Gaza in Palestine. At the age of two, he moved to Makkah. He paid two visits to Baghdad and in 199 AH he moved to Egypt, where he remained until his death. His grave is still well known. Imam al-Shāfi‘ī, as he came to be called, was an accomplished marksman, poet, linguist and historian, before going on to excel in *fiqh* and Hadith. By the age of 20, he had begun to issue fatwāhs. He produced numerous compilations, including *al-Umm* in *fiqh*, *al-Risālah* in *‘uṣūl al-fiqh* and *al-Musnad* in Hadith.⁸⁴

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

Imam al-Shāfi‘ī based the school on the Qur’an, the Sunna, *‘ijmā’* and *qiyās*, like other Sunni schools. However, he made greater use of Hadith than did Abū Ḥanīfah, though lesser use than did Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. In addition, in contrast to Mālik, who

⁸² Al-Dhahabī, *Ṣiyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 21/317.

⁸³ Ibid. 21/307-310; Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 5/318; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.163.

⁸⁴ Al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 2/9–21; al-Dhahabī, *Ṣiyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 10/5; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah al-Kubrā*, 1/192; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 6/26–27; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.170.

accepted *al-ḥadīth al-mursal*, he did not accept it unless it came via the older members of the Successors, such as Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib.

The Most Famous Scholars of the School

Al-Shayrāzī (393–476 AH/1003–1083 AC). Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhim ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Shayrāzī was born in Fayrūza’abād in Iran. He moved to Shīrāz, also in Iran, then to Basrah, and finally to Baghdad in 415 AH/1024 AC, where he became very famous in the Islamic sciences. The Minister, Niẓām al-Mulk, built a special school where al-Shayrāzī taught the Shafi‘ite school. He died in Baghdad.⁸⁵

Al-Nawawī (631–676 AH/1233–1277 AC). Abū Zakariyyā, Muḥyi al-Dīn, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf ibn Murri al-Nawawī was born in the village of Nawā in Syria. He studied in Damascus, where he stayed for 27 years. Then he returned to his home village, where he died in 676 AH/1277 AC. His compilations included *al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Saḥīḥ Muslim* and *al-Majmū‘ fī Sharḥ al-Muḥadhdhab*⁸⁶.

Al-Suyūṭī (849–911 AH/1445–1505 AC). Jalāl al-Dīn, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī was born in Asyūṭ in Egypt and grew up in Cairo. At the age of 40, he withdrew from society to the Garden of al-Miqyās near the Nile, rejecting all gifts from the rulers. Despite repeated invitations from the Sultan,

⁸⁵ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 1/51.

⁸⁶ Al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 5/354; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah al-Kubrā*, 8/395–400; al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 8/149–150; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.172.

al-Suyūṭī refused to visit him, remaining in seclusion right up to his death. Among al-Suyūṭī's numerous compilations are *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḡhīr* and *Tadrib al-Rāwī*.⁸⁷

The Ḥanbalites

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Ibn Ḥanbal: Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (164–241 AH/780–855 AC) was born in Baghdad, although his family came from Marw. Since his childhood, Ibn Ḥanbal had sought knowledge. To this end he travelled to Kufah and Basrah in Iraq, as well as to Makkah, Medina, Syria, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria and other countries. He compiled the *Musnad*, which contains around 30,000 narrations. Under the government of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, there began the debate over whether the Qur'an was created. When al-Mu'tasim became caliph, he asked Ibn Hanbal to state that the Qur'an was created. When Ibn Ḥanbal refused, the caliph had him imprisoned for 28 months. However, when al-Mutawakkil took over the caliphate, Ibn Ḥanbal was treated with greater respect for the rest of his life.⁸⁸

Origins of the School

Like other Sunni schools, the Ḥanbalite school is based on the Qur'an, the Sunna, 'ijmā' and qiyās. However, Ibn Ḥanbal tended to refer to the Hadith more than to his own opinion. It is narrated that he said:

⁸⁷ Al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8/51; al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 6/56.

⁸⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* 1/431; Abū Nu'aym al-'Aṣbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, 9/161; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.174; al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 1/203.

I think that a weak narration is better than the opinions of men.

In this respect, he differed from Abū Ḥanīfah, who applied very strict criteria in his acceptance and use of narrations. That is why the Ḥanbalite school is known as the School of Hadith (*madrasat al-ḥadīth*).⁸⁹

THE MOST FAMOUS SCHOLARS OF THE SCHOOL

Ibn Taymiyah (661–728 AH/1263–1328 AC). Taqiy al-Dīn, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Ḥarrānī al-Dimashqī was born in Ḥarrān in Syria and moved to Damascus. He then went to Egypt in response to an invitation. However, he was imprisoned for a while. After his release, Ibn Taymiyah returned to Damascus in 712 AH/1312 AC. He was again imprisoned in 720 AH/1319 AC. He died in the prison of the Castle of Damascus. Among the 300 volumes that he wrote during his lifetime are *Minḥāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah* and *al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘iyyah*.⁹⁰

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (691–751 AH/1292–1350 AC): Shams al-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb al-Zar‘ī al-Dimashqī was born and died in Damascus. He was a student of Ibn Taymiyah and was imprisoned with him. However, he was released on Ibn Taymiyah’s death in 728 AH/1327 AC. His numerous compilations included *Zād al-Ma‘ād Ila Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād* and *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn ‘an Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Al-Sakhawī, *Fatḥ al-Mughhīh*, 1/82.

⁹⁰ Al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 6/80; al-Dimashqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 14/135–140; Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 1/144; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.175.

⁹¹ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 6/56; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.175.

The Ṣāhirites

FOUNDER OF THE SCHOOL

Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf al-Asbahānī al-Ṣāhirī (201–270 AH/816–884 AC) was born in Kufa and lived in Baghdad, where he spread his school. According to Ibn Khillikān, there were 400 students attending his lectures every day. Abū Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī died in Baghdad, leaving numerous compilations.⁹²

However, although Abū Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī founded the Ṣāhiri school, it was Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī ibn Ahmad ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥazm al-Ṣāhirī (384–456 AH/994–1064 AC) who established it and made it famous. In Andalusia, he was the leading scholar of his time. He was a government minister, as had been his father before him. Ibn Ḥazm was strongly self-disciplined in acquiring knowledge and compiling hadiths. He criticized many contemporary scholars, who united against him and reported his views to the ruler. Ibn Ḥazm's punishment consisted of many hardships, such as imprisonment, banishment and the burning of his books. Finally, he withdrew to his family estate, where he died. Ibn Ḥazm's son declared that he had four hundred compilations, comprising around eight thousand pages. His works included *al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal* and *al-Muḥalla*.⁹³

⁹² Ibid., 2/333; Ibid., p.177.

⁹³ 'Aḥmad al-Muqrī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 2/77–84; al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 4/254–255; Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.177.

ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL

The Ṣāḥirites are so-called because they reject *qiyās* as legal evidence, although they do accept the Qur'an, the Sunnah and '*ijmā'*', as do other Islamic schools. In addition, they interpret the Qur'an and the Hadith literally, rejecting any comparison between what is and is not mentioned in the text. For example, it is narrated that the Prophet said:

If someone urinates into stagnant water, then that water must not be used for washing or performing *wuḍū'*.⁹⁴

The Ṣāḥirites have interpreted this hadith literally and have therefore decided on the following:

1. If someone urinates into a container and then pours the urine into the stagnant water, then that water can be used because the person did not urinate directly into it. Other scholars do not differentiate between the two cases.
2. The Ṣāḥirites forbid only the two actions mentioned in the hadith – washing and performing *wuḍū'* – but they allow the water to be used for drinking. Other schools forbid the use of the water for drinking as well as for washing and performing *wuḍū'*.
3. The Ṣāḥirites forbid only the person who has urinated into the stagnant water to use it for washing and performing *wuḍū'*. Other people can use it for these

⁹⁴ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad, *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/94; Al-Bustī, Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Ḥibbān* 4/61; Al-Sijistānī, Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan Abī Dā'ūd* 1/18.

purposes. Other schools apply the prohibition to everyone, for they do not see any difference between them.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Al-Zāhirī, Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Muḥallā* 1/141-143

Part 2

The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict on the Narration of Hadiths

Status of the Sunna in the Origins of Islamic Law

According to every Islamic school, the Sunna is ranked immediately below the Qur'an among the sources of Islamic Law. As many scholars have pointed out, this status is purely honorary. It does not mean that the Sunna, as evidence, is regarded as being on a lower level than the Qur'an, since both must be obeyed. An order given by the Prophet carries the same weight as an order given by Allah, because the former is in fact an order from Allah. The Qur'an is granted a higher status because it is the Word of Allah, whereas the Sunna is the word of the Prophet. It should also be remembered that the Qur'an has been protected by Allah from corruption, addition and deletion.

The Qur'an itself mentions that obedience to the Prophet is obedience to Allah:

Those who obey the Messenger of Allah obey Allah, and those who turn away, We have not sent you as a watcher over them" (4:80).

In every verse mentioning obedience to the Prophet, it is coupled with a reminder of obedience to Allah. Clearly, both the Qur'an and the Sunna are on the same level as far as the obligation of obedience is concerned.

And obey Allah and the Messenger, that you may find mercy. (3:132)

Obey Allah and obey His Messenger; but if you turn away, then the duty of Our Messenger is only to convey [the message] plainly. (64:12)

Those who obey Allah and His Messenger, fear Allah and keep their duty [to Him]: they indeed are the victorious. (24:52)

He will adjust your works for you and will forgive you your sins. Whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, has indeed gained a significant victory. (33:7)

And the one who obeys Allah and His Messenger, He will bring him into gardens, underneath which rivers flow, and the one who turns back, He will punish him with a painful doom. (48:17)

Moreover, Allah points out that the true Muslim is the one who obeys the orders of Allah and the Prophet without argument, objection or hesitation:

The response of [all true] believers when they appeal to Allah and His Messenger to judge between them is only that they say: "We hear and we obey." And those are the successful. Those who obey Allah and His Messenger, fear Allah, and keep their duty [to Him]: those indeed are the victorious. (24:51–52)

It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decided a matter [for them], that they should [afterwards] claim any say in that matter; and he who rebels against Allah and His Messenger, he indeed goes astray and is clearly in error. (33:36)

Allah explains why the Prophet must be obeyed when He mentions in the Qur'an that the Prophet would not say anything on his own account. Everything that he said was a Revelation from Allah:

Nor does he speak from [his own] desire. It is only an inspiration come down to him (53:3–4).

Like other prophets, the Prophet Muhammad was saved by Allah from committing any kind of wrongdoing. His sayings must be genuine, for he was the bearer and

communicator of Allah's decisions and he was the link between Him and His Creation in knowing His judgments:

Indeed, in the Messenger of Allah you have a good example for him who looks to Allah and the Last Day, and remembers Allah often (33:21).

Consequently, the sayings and judgments of the Prophet are at the top of the pyramid of Islamic Law. There is no judgment higher than that of the Prophet, nor is there an opinion higher than that of the Prophet. Therefore, no scholar of Islam, including the Companions, hesitated to abandon their opinions in a case if they received a relevant judgment from the Prophet. Moreover, when they were asked about a case, they would first investigate whether there was a judgment by the Prophet. If there was one, then they would use it. If they found none, then they would base their judgment on their own opinion. However, they would abandon their opinion if a judgment by the Prophet, of which they had known nothing at the time, was found later.

It is narrated:

A grandmother came to Abū Bakr, asking about her share of an inheritance.

He said: "I cannot find anything about your case in the Book of Allah [the Qur'an] and I have not known the Prophet pass judgment on your case. However, I shall ask the people this afternoon." Then, when he had performed the noon prayer, he asked the people.

Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah said: "I heard the Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) give her a sixth [of the inheritance]."

He [Abū Bakr] asked: "Did anyone else hear that [as a witness]?"

Muḥammad ibn Maslamah said: "I heard the Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) give her a sixth [of the inheritance]." Therefore, Abū Bakr judged her case accordingly.¹

Al-Bukhārī narrated that Ibn 'Abbās said:

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (may Allah be pleased with him) once went to Syria. When he was in [place called] Sargh, he met the leaders of the army [coming from Syria], consisting of Abū 'Ubaydah and his companions. They told him that an epidemic was spreading throughout Syria.

According to Ibn 'Abbās, 'Umar said: "Bring all the Muhājirīn to me." So, he [Ibn 'Abbās] brought them to him. He told them that an epidemic was spreading throughout Syria and asked them for their advice. They had different views.

Some said: "We left [Madinah] for a purpose [jihad] and we do not think that it is a good idea to return."

Others said: "You have the best people with you, as well as the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him). We do not think that it is a good idea to expose them to this epidemic."

Then he ['Umar] said: "Leave me." Then he said: "Bring the Anṣār to me." He [Ibn 'Abbās] brought them to him, and they were asked for their advice. They differed, as the Muhājirīn had done. He ['Umar] said: "Leave me." Then he said: "Bring the elders of the Quraysh to me." Ibn 'Abbās brought them to him, and he asked them for their advice. They did not differ in their views.

They said: "We think that you must return and you must not expose them to this epidemic."

So 'Umar summoned his people: "I am returning in the morning. You must do the same."

Then Abū 'Ubaydah said: "Are you fleeing from Allah's destiny?"

'Umar replied: "If only someone else had said that instead of you, Abū 'Ubaydah! Yes, I am fleeing from Allah's destiny to Allah's destiny. Suppose that you had some camels. They go to a valley which has two slopes, one fertile and the other barren. If you grazed them on the fertile slope, you would be following Allah's destiny. And if you grazed them on the barren slope, you would also be following Allah's destiny, wouldn't you?"

¹ 'Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 4/73.

Then ‘Abd al-Raḥmān arrived. He was busy with his own affairs. He said: “I have some knowledge of this case. I heard the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) says: ‘If you hear of it [an epidemic] in a land, do not go there. If it is spreading in a land where you are staying, do not escape from it.’” So ‘Umar gave thanks to Allah and returned home.²

Al-Bayhaqī narrated:

A man came to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, asking about a woman who began menstruating after she had visited the Ka‘bah. Could she leave Makkah before her period was finished [without circum-ambulating the Ka‘bah again]?³

He [‘Umar] said: “No.”

Then the man replied: “But the Prophet gave me a different answer about this woman from what you have told me.”

‘Umar stood up and beat him with a stick, saying: “Why do you ask me about a matter which the Prophet had already answered?”

It is also narrated that ‘Umar allocated different amounts of blood money to those whose fingers that had been cut off.⁴ He assessed fifteen camels for the thumb, ten for the forefinger and middle finger, nine for the ring finger, and six for the little finger. However, when he was told about ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm’s book, in which it is

² Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Saḥīḥ*, 5/2163.

³ When one wants to leave Makkah, one must first perform *tawāf al-wada‘* (circum-ambulating the Ka‘bah seven times). Then one is allowed to depart. A woman is not allowed to perform *tawāf al-wadā‘* during menstruation, because one must be clean and free from any impurity. So, if a woman is menstruating and she wants to leave Makkah, should she wait until the end of her period? Or can she leave without performing *tawāf al-wadā‘* because she is excused from it? At first, ‘Umar said, “No, she must wait until the end of her period and then perform the ritual.” However, the Prophet had decided that she could leave Makkah without performing it.

⁴ In Islamic Law, there is a certain amount of blood money payable as compensation for every part of the body. It varies from one part to another, according to its importance and the existence of the other parts. For instance, if one eye is lost or a person becomes blind in one eye, then half of the blood money for the whole body (50 camels or 5,000 dinars) must be paid to the victim because he has only two eyes. If both eyes are lost, then he deserves to receive the blood money for the whole body (100 camels or 10,000 dinars). See: Al-Andalusī, Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* 4/344-348.

stated that the Prophet had said: “For each finger, ten camels [as blood money]”⁵, he [‘Umar] abandoned his judgment and applied that of the Prophet.

In this way, the Successors, and those scholars who followed them, did not hesitate to abandon their opinions if they discovered that the Prophet had passed a different judgment. It is narrated about some of them that they said:

If a sound narration is discovered, that is also my opinion.⁶

Or they say:

If a sound narration was found to differ from my opinion, then my opinion was thrown out like rubbish.⁷

In a reference to the Prophet’s grave, Abū Ya‘qūb al-Wārijlānī says:

The only person who deserves to be followed is the occupant of this grave.”⁸

Islamic scholars did not hesitate to reject an opinion held by a scholar once it was known that it contradicted a sound hadith of the Prophet. It did not matter if the opinion was that of a highly respected scholar or imam, because the Prophet was the greatest leader of the Muslim community. His judgment must be given priority over that of everyone else. One of the rules established for scholars of Islam is that there is

⁵ Al-Bustī, Ibn Hibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Hibbān* 14/501-510.

⁶ Ibn Hajar, al-‘Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī* 2/223; Al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn, *‘Umdat al-qārī* 5/277; Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī* 1/230; *Sharḥ sunan ibn Mājah* 1/50.

⁷ Al-Mubārakfūrī, Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-‘Aḥwadhī* 4/450; Al-‘Azīm’abādī, Muḥammad, *‘Awn al-Ma’būd* 2/75.

⁸ Sa‘īd al-Qannūbī, *Qurrat al-‘Aynayn*, p.12.

no need for an opinion when there is a relevant text in the Qur'an, the Hadith or the *Ijmā'*.⁹ According to the contemporary scholar al-Khalilī:

No consideration should be given to any narration that contradicts a sound hadith, because the Sunna is an argument against other people, and other people are not an argument against the Sunna.¹⁰

To summarize, in some cases the existence of a hadith ends the argument and puts the opponent in the position of having no choice but to follow what it says.

Reasons for Forgery & Specific Attribution of Narrations to the Prophet

This discussion focuses on the many reasons why the forgers of narrations chose to indulge in this practice and why they chose to attribute their forgeries specifically to the Prophet rather than to one of the Companions or someone else. In addition, why did no one try to enter changes in the Qur'an? Some of the reasons are as follows:

Ease in Attributing Forged Narrations to the Prophet

The Qur'an is protected by Allah from corruption, addition or deletion. Allah, in the Qur'an, says:

Verily, it is We Who have sent down the *Dhikr* (the Qur'an) and surely, We will guard it [from corruption]. (15:9)

⁹ Al-'Āmidī, 'Alī, *Al-'Iḥkām* 1/291.

¹⁰ Sa'īd al-Qannūbī, *Qurraṭ al-'Aynayn*, p.17.

Therefore, no one has tried to corrupt the Qur'an or to forge verses and ascribe them to the Holy Book. The Qur'an is the Word of Allah. It is completely different from any other text in its structure, phrasing, expression and vocabulary. Every Arab, or even every speaker of the Arabic language, can distinguish between the Qur'an and other texts.

The Qur'an is the miracle of Islam. Allah promised to save it from corruption. It has not been subjected to the treatment given to earlier Holy Books, namely, corruption, changes, additions and deletions. Every sentence, word and letter in the Qur'an is confirmed by Allah.

Although many Muslims have different views about Islam, they all agree on the Holy Qur'an. They all agree on every letter of its content. The Qur'an, which is read by the Ibadites, the Sunnis and the Shi'ites, is the same for everyone. Moreover, all Muslims agree that anyone who does not believe in every single letter of the Qur'an is an unbeliever, he/she is not a Muslim but a *mushrik/mushrikah*. The same judgment applies to those who attribute words to the Qur'an.

Although there are differences in the interpretation of the Qur'an, the text itself is the same for every Muslim. Consequently, it has been impossible to attribute anything to the Qur'an which was not part of it in the first place.

However, the Hadith is in a different position because, unlike the Qur'an, the Sayings of the Prophet have not been protected from corruption, addition or deletion. Although the Prophet was the most eloquent of the Arabs and his linguistic knowledge was better than that of other people, his phraseology was not a miracle like that of the Qur'an and could not be compared to it.

Moreover, it was common practice for the meaning of the sayings to be transmitted rather than the precise wording that had been spoken by the Prophet. We can find that a saying transmitted by one narrator differs in some of its wording from the same saying transmitted by another narrator, although the meaning is the same.

After realizing that it was impossible to add anything to the Qur'an, the forgers of narrations turned to the second source of Islamic Law, namely, the Hadith, and used it to forge narrations and attribute them to the Prophet. All the forger needed to do was to fabricate a narration in a style similar to that of the Prophet, attach a sound *'isnād* (chain of transmission) to it, and pass it off as an authentic hadith of the Prophet.

The High Status Accorded to Prophetic Narrations by Muslims

As explained earlier, the Hadith of the Prophet is held in high esteem by Muslims. In any debate, the existence of a hadith of the Prophet puts an end to the differences and requires those in dispute to follow what it says. How could anyone pursue a dispute that had already been decided by the Prophet? How could anyone contradict a decision that had come from the Prophet?

This situation gave the forgers of narrations an easy means of supporting opinions that they wished to support and of refuting those which they wished to refute; of praising the people that they wished to praise and of criticizing those whom they wished to criticize. They even used this method to promote the sale of their goods!

The forgers of narrations had no qualms about fabricating hadiths and attributing them to the Prophet, not even a sense of shame. For instance, it is narrated that al-Juwaybārī, a forger of narrations, was one day sitting with some people who were arguing about whether al-Ḥasan heard narrations from Abū Hurayrah. Al-Juwaybārī said:

So-and-so told us from so-and-so that the Prophet (may the Blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: ‘Al-Ḥasan did indeed hear narrations from Abū Hurayrah.’¹¹

The following is also narrated:

Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn were praying in the mosque of al-Raṣāfah [a part of Baghdad], when a storyteller said: “Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn told us from Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar from Qatādah from Anas [ibn Mālik] that he said: ‘The Messenger of Allah said: “Allah will create for the one who says that there is no god but Allah, a bird with a beak of gold and feathers of coral”....’” He continued to relate a very long story running to about twenty pages. Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn looked at each other.

Each asked the other: “Did you transmit this [narration]?”

The other answered: “I have never heard it until now!”

They remained silent until the storyteller finished his stories and collected his money. Then Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn invited him [to come to them] and asked him: “From whom did you hear this narration?”

He replied: “From Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn.”

Yaḥyā said: “I am Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn and this is Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. We have never heard this narration. If you must tell lies, do not tell them about us.”

The storyteller asked: “Are you really Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn?”

He replied: “Yes!”

¹¹ ‘Alī al-Dāraqutnī, *al-‘Ilal*, 8/259; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘Asqalānī*, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1/193; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La‘ālī al-Maṣnu‘ah*, 1/43.

The storyteller said: "I used to hear that you were a fool, but I was not sure about that until now."

Yaḥyā asked: "How do you know that I am a fool?"

The storyteller replied: "It seems that you are the only two people called Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn! I have written down [narrations] from seventeen people calling themselves Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn!"¹²

People would pay more attention to hadiths attributed to the Prophet than those attributed to scholars and they would be more inclined to obey their injunctions. Therefore, the forgers of narrations found it more useful to attribute their fabrications to the Prophet than to scholars because they would be more readily followed. Ibn al-Jawzī narrated:

Al-Mukhtār [al-Thaqafī] said to one of the Traditionists: "Forge a narration attributed to the Prophet, saying that I shall succeed him as caliph and seek retribution for his descendants. I shall give [in payment] ten thousand dirhams, clothes, a riding animal and a slave."

The Traditionist said: "Attributed to the Prophet? I cannot [do that]. However, choose whomever you wish from among the Companions and deduct from the price whatever you wish."

Al-Mukhtār replied: "[A narration] attributed to the Prophet carries greater authority."

The Traditionist replied: "But it also carries a greater punishment."¹³

Although many forged narrations were attributed to the Companions, the Successors and those who followed them, it is noticeable that a far greater proportion was attributed to the Prophet.

¹² 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Quṣṣāṣ wa al-Mudhakkirīn*, 1/304.

¹³ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-Mawdū'āt*, 1/18; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*, 2/389.

The Prophet's Knowledge of the Unseen

There is no one can understand the unseen, which is hidden, except Allah and those of His Messengers whom He chooses. According to the Qur'an:

He knows the unseen and He does not allow anyone to know His secrets except those of His Messengers whom He chooses.

He causes angelic guards to march before and after him [Messenger].

So that He would know that the Messengers have conveyed the message of their Lord. He encompasses all that is with them and He keeps a precise account of all things. (72:26-28)

The Prophet himself did not understand the unseen apart from what Allah might inform him:

[Muhammad], tell them, "I do not claim to have all the treasures of God in my hands, nor to know the unseen, nor do I claim to be an angel. I follow only what is revealed to me [from God]." Say to them, "Are the blind and the seeing equal?" Why then do you not think? (6:50)

The ability to receive Revelation is one of the characteristics with which only the Messengers of Allah are endowed. They are the only people to whom unseen beings might be revealed. When we read forged narrations, we find that many of them refer to the unseen world such as details of earlier nations, the future, the Last Day, Heaven, Hell, etc.

Because the knowledge of the unseen was confined to the Messengers of Allah, the forgers of narrations about this subject attributed their fabrications to the Prophet himself. If they had attributed them to anyone else, they would have been worthless.

For instance, storytellers (*al-quṣṣās*), who concocted strange stories about earlier nations and prophets to attract the attention of their audience, were usually referring to unseen incidents that came down to the Muslims only through Revelation. Some of these stories were inherited from earlier Holy Books. The storytellers used to attribute stories of this kind to the Prophet to confirm their authenticity and persuade the audience to believe them.

According to al-Sha‘bī:

Once, ‘Abd al-Malik [ibn al-Marwān] was sitting with the tribal leaders of the Syrian people. He asked: “Who is the most knowledgeable man of the Iraqi people?”

They replied: “We do not know any man who is more knowledgeable than al-Sha‘bī.” So he sent for me and I went to him.

When I was in Tadmur (Palmyra), it was a Friday, so I entered the mosque to pray. There I found a heavily bearded shaikh surrounded by people.

He said: “So-and-so told me from so-and-so (tracing an *‘isnād* back to the Prophet) that Allah created two trumpets. He will blow two blasts on each trumpet: one for death and one for resurrection.”

[Al-Sha‘bī said:] I could not control myself. When I had finished my prayer, I said to him: “O shaikh, fear Allah and do not tell lies. Allah has created only one trumpet for blowing two blasts: one for death and one for resurrection.”¹⁴

He [the shaikh] retorted: “O villain! So-and-so told me from so-and-so, and you do not believe me?” Then he beat me with his shoes. The congregation began to beat me as well. I swear by Allah, they did not stop until I swore that Allah had created thirty trumpets for blowing a blast on every one. Only then did they leave me alone.¹⁵

¹⁴ According to the Qur’an, there is only one trumpet: “And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon, except such as Allah pleases; then it shall be blown again, then lo! they shall stand up awaiting” (39:68).

¹⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 1/152–153.

In addition, admonishers (*al-wu‘‘āz*), who urge people to do good deeds and avoid wrongdoing, behaved like the storytellers. They fabricated narrations about the Last Day, the delights of Heaven awaiting its future inhabitants, and the tortures of Hell awaiting its future inhabitants. Since knowledge of the unseen is known only via Revelation, the admonishers would forge narrations reminding people of the virtues of reciting the Qur’an, praising Allah, fasting, prayer, etc. and attribute them to the Prophet. It is narrated:

Abū ‘Iṣmah ibn Abī Maryam was asked: “Where did you find the narrations from ‘Ikrimah from Ibn ‘Abbās concerning the virtues of the Qur’anic surahs? The students of ‘Ikrimah do not have them.”

He replied: “I noticed that people were abandoning the Qur’an and paying more attention to the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfah and the stories of Ibn Ishāq. So I forged those narrations for Allah’s reward.”¹⁶

¹⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-La‘āl al-Maṣnū‘ah*, 2/390.

CHAPTER THREE

The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict on Receiving and Relating Hadiths

As the Muslims divided into groups based on the various doctrines, so the gulf between them widened because of doctrinal conflict to the extent that Muslims avoided the company of those whom they considered heretics according to their own ideas. Many hadiths were forged and attributed to the Prophet himself, asking Muslims to avoid approaching or listening to heretics. It is narrated via ‘Ā’ishah that the Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) once asked her:

“As for those who divide their religion and break it up into sects ... [the Qur’an, 6:159],¹ who are they?”

She replied: “Allah and His Messenger know best.”

Then he said: “They are the heretics and misguided of this nation. O ‘Ā’ishah, every sin can be forgiven except that of heresy. That cannot be forgiven. I am not like them and they are not like me.”²

It is also attributed to the Prophet that he said:

Heretics are the worst of created beings.³

¹ The whole verse reads: “As for those who divide their religion and break it up into sects, you have nothing at all to do with them: their affair is with Allah: He will in the end tell them the truth of all that they did.”

² Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *Nawādir al-‘Uṣūl*, 2/245; Shīrawayh, *al-Firdaws bi Ma‘thūr al-Khiṭāb*, 5/422; Abū Dā‘ūd al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Marāṣil*, 1/207.

³ Shīrawayh, *al-Firdaws bi Ma‘thūr al-Khiṭāb*, 1/410; Mḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Mẓān al-‘Itidāl*, 6/322; Sulaymān al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Awsat*, 4/196.

Therefore, the Prophet is supposed to have warned Muslims against respecting heretics and to have asked them to hate and abandon them. According to those forged hadiths, he confirmed that there would be a reward for those who hated and abandoned heretics and that there would be a punishment for those who respected them. Al-Khaṭīb related via Ibn ‘Umar that the Prophet said:

Allah will fill with faith (*’imān*) the heart of one who has abandoned a heretic because he hated him for the sake of Allah.⁴

It was related via ‘Ā’ishah that the Prophet said:

Anyone who has respected a heretic (*sāḥib bid‘ah*) has helped to destroy Islam.⁵

Consequently, the scholars and memorizers of hadiths became aware of doctrinal conflict, which strongly influenced their decision to accept and transmit some hadiths and reject others. It became common practice for students to accept hadiths only from the followers of the same doctrine, and for teachers to narrate hadiths only to those who were prepared to accept their doctrine.

Concerning students, Ibn Sīrīn says:

They were not used to investigating the *isnad* (chain of transmission). However, when the Civil War erupted, they said: “Give us the names of your informants.” So, if they were *ahl al-Sunnah*, their narrations were accepted, but if they were *ahl al-bida’*, their narrations were not accepted⁶.

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 2/302.

⁵ Ibn Ḥajar, al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1/549; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzi, *al-Mawdū‘āt*, 1/199; Al-Suyūṭī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-La‘ālī *al-Maṣnū‘ah*, 1/231.

⁶ Abū Nu‘aym al-‘Aṣḥānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 3/278.

⁶ Ibid.

There were many instances where Muslims rejected the narrations of people who were classified as Ahl al-Bida‘, or even of those who differed on only one point. A very famous example was that of Imam Muslim, who was a student of Imam al-Bukhārī. When Muslim was writing his well-known book, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, he did not include any narrations from al-Bukhārī because neither of them could agree on the origin of the recitation of the Qur’an. Al-Bukhārī said:

My recitation of the Qur’an is created [by Allah].⁷

However, Muslim did not agree with him, saying that it was eternal.

Al-Bukhārī himself, despite his high rank, faced all kinds of persecution in response to his opinions and he was forced to leave his city, Bukhara.⁸ Ibn Abī Ḥātim said about him:

My father and Abū Zur‘ah used to listen to his [al-Bukhārī’s] narrations. However, they no longer listened to him after Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Nīsābūrī wrote to them, pointing out that he [al-Bukhārī] had said: “My recitation of the Qur’an is created [by Allah].”⁹

⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl*, 7/191.

⁸ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 5/116.

⁹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl*, 7/191.

It is easy to find many examples in the books on Hadith describing how traditionalists abandoned certain narrators just because of their doctrine. Ayyüb al-Sakhtayānī said:

Abū Qalābah said to me, ‘Oh, Ayyüb, take four pieces of advice from me: ...and do not let heretics whisper in your ear, for then they will put into your head whatever they wish.’¹⁰

Abū Bakr ibn ‘Ayyāsh said:

I no longer listened to narrations from Fiṭr just because of his doctrine.¹¹

Also, Jarīr said about Ismā‘īl ibn Samī‘:

He was one of the Kharijites. I used to write down his narrations but then I left him.¹²

Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah also said about Ismā‘īl ibn Samī‘:

He was one of the Bayhasiyyah [a sect of the Kharijites]. So, I never went to him, nor even approached him.¹³

Some even went so far as to classify sitting, listening or talking with a heretic (*mubtadi‘*) as sinful. Sufyān al-Thawrī said:

Allah will not bestow any benefit on a person who listens to a heretic. Sitting with a heretic is like destroying Islam bit by bit.¹⁴

¹⁰ Al-‘Ukburī, *Al-Sharḥ wa al-‘Ibānah*, p.25.

¹¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.123.

¹² Ibn ‘Adiyy al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu‘afā’*, 1/197.

¹³ Muhammad al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-‘Itidāl*, 1/391.

¹⁴ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘ liAkhḫāq al-Rāwī*, 1/138.

‘Aṭā’ said:

Allah revealed to Moses, ‘Do not sit with heretics, for they will change your way of thinking.’¹⁵

Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ says:

Looking at a heretic extinguishes virtue’s guiding light in one’s heart.¹⁶

Also, Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith said:

If you see a heretic in your path, close your eyes before facing in his direction.¹⁷

Abū al-‘Abbās al-Khaṭṭāb said:

If you meet a heretic after leaving your house, then go back [home], because devils are walking with him.¹⁸

Muṣ‘ab said:

Do not sit with a heretic, for he will harm you. Either he will lead you to believe what he believes or he will harm you [physically] before you leave him.¹⁹

Ibn al-Mubārak said:

¹⁵ Al-‘Ukburī, *Al-Sharḥ wa al-‘Ibānah*, p.23.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.26.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.27.

Allah has angels seeking lessons in knowledge. So, be careful about the company that you keep. Do not mix with heretics, because Allah does not acknowledge them. Sitting with heretics is a sign of hypocrisy.”²⁰

Muḥammad ibn al-Naḍr al-Hārithī said:

Guidance will be removed from the person who listens to a heretic, and he will be abandoned.”²¹

Al-Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyāḍ said:

I meet many of the best people, all of whom are followers of the Sunnah. They forbid sitting with heretics. I think that a follower of the Sunna will be accepted [on the Last Day] even if his good deeds have been few. However, a heretic’s good deeds will not be accepted by Allah, even if they have been numerous.²²

Ismā‘īl al-Ṭūsī and al-Fuḍayl said:

Do not sit with a heretic, because I fear that Allah will turn away from you.²³

Also, Al-Fuḍayl said:

Do not trust a heretic concerning your religion. Do not ask him for his advice about your affairs. Do not sit with him, because Allah will blind the judgement of a person who sits with a heretic.²⁴

It was said to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:

²⁰ Ibid., p.32.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., p.36.

So-and-so washed [the body of] a [deceased] heretic.”

Then he [al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī] said: “Tell him that when he dies, we shall not pray for him.”²⁵

Ibn Sīrīn once found his friend in a shop and asked him:

“What are you doing here?”

He replied: “I visited so-and-so [a heretic] because he is ill.”

Then Ibn Sīrīn said: “When you fall ill, we shall not visit you, and when you die, we shall not pray for you, unless you ask [Allah] to forgive [your sin].”

The man said: “I ask Allah for His forgiveness.”²⁶

Al-Barbahānī says:

If Allah knows that a man hates a heretic, he will forgive him [every sin], even if he has done few good deeds. Ahl al-Sunnah must treat a heretic with reserve. He who turns his face away from a heretic, Allah will fill his heart with faith. He who berates a heretic, Allah will keep him safe on the Day of the Biggest Fear [in the Hereafter]. He who insults a heretic, Allah will raise him one hundred degrees in Paradise.²⁷

He also says:

If you see a man who is devout in his worship, an ascetic, and he is a heretic, do not sit with him and do not listen to what he says.²⁸

He also says:

Do not sit with a heretic, because I fear that a curse will come down upon you.²⁹

²⁵ Ibid., p.38.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Hasan al-Barbahānī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, p. 128.

²⁸ Ibid pp. 114-117

²⁹ Ibid., p.128

I might eat with a Jew or with a Christian, but I shall never eat with a heretic. I prefer to have an iron curtain between a heretic and me.³⁰

Concerning the teachers who narrated hadiths, some traditionalists would ask the students who wished to listen to their narrations about their doctrine. If the student followed the same doctrine as that of his teacher, then the teacher would be willing to narrate hadiths to him. Otherwise, he would refuse to do so.

There are many examples illustrating this situation. Hishām ibn ‘Ammār says:

I met Shihāb ibn Kharāsh when I was young, and he said to me: “If you are not one of the Qadarites or the Murji’ites, I will teach you hadiths. Otherwise, I shall not do so.” I replied: “I am not one of them.”³¹

Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah asked a man:

“Where have you come from?”

He said: “From the funeral of so-and-so [a heretic].”

Then, he [Sufyān] said: “I shall not teach you Hadith. Ask Allah for His forgiveness and do not do it again.”³²

Ibn al-Mubārak was informed that a man had had a meal with a heretic. So, when Ibn al-Mubārak met the man, he said to him:

I will not speak to you for thirty days.”³³

Al-Ḥasan ibn Shaqīq said:

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Muhammad al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 2/135.

³² Al-‘Ukburī, *Al-Sharḥ wa al-‘Ibānah*, p.37.

³³ Ibid., p.33.

We were with Ibn al-Mubārak when a man came to [see] him.

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] asked him, 'Are you a Jahmite?'

He [the man] replied, 'Yes.'

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] said, 'When you leave, do not come to [see] me again.'

The man said, 'I ask for forgiveness.'

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] said, 'No, not before you prove your [right to] forgiveness.'³⁴

These examples show that heretics were not welcome to attend the lectures or classes of those who had different opinions.

³⁴ Ibid., p.30.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Effect on the Forgery of Hadiths

The main sources of Islamic Law are, firstly, the Holy Qur'an, and secondly, the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. As the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet, it was memorized and then recorded in writing. Throughout the history of Islam, the Qur'an has been protected by Allah from any kind of distortion, addition or deletion.

Verily, We, it is We Who have sent down the *dhikr*, [the Qur'an], and surely, We will guard it [from corruption]. (15:9)

Although there are marked differences in the interpretation of many verses, the text itself is exactly the same as originally revealed. The Hadith, on the other hand, comprises the statements, actions and sanctions of the Prophet, which were witnessed and transmitted orally by his Companions to their Successors and other people, some of whom were less reliable than others. When the hadiths were collected and recorded in writing by scholars of Islam, it was clear that there was a wide variation in the authenticity of the narrations. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Hadith was a source of evidence that was open to misuse by certain Islamic groups seeking to legitimize their own opinions and discredit those of other Islamic groups as being contrary to Islam.

The misuse of the Hadith took various forms as described below:

1. Narrations that had never been said by the Prophet Muhammad were forged in his name and then passed off with a sound *'isnād* (chain of transmission) after it was found that there was no evidence to support the opinion of the forger.
2. Words or sentences might be changed or added to an existent narration, thus changing its original meaning to suit a particular aim. A typical example is the hadith which was quoted by Abū Bakr to Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, when she came to him, asking about her share of her father's inheritance. He replied that she had no right to it because he had heard the Prophet saying:

“we [prophets] do not make our property to be inherited. What we leave is charity” *lā nūraṭh* (with *n*), *mā taraknāhu ṣadaqatun* (with *u*, *dammah*, in the word *ṣadaqatun*).¹

However, the conflicts that resulted from this case acquired a wider application than that of the Prophet's property. The Shi'ites asserted that the acceptance of the judgement that Fāṭimah had no right to her father's inheritance would entail a serious departure from the principle which states that the Prophet family, 'Āl al-Bayt, are the inheritors of the Prophet. So, if the property of the Prophet cannot be inherited, then presumably, more important items, such as positions in the government cannot be inherited either.

After he quoted this above narration, Goldziher said:

This sentence, which, as has already been indicated, aims at serving a great principle of public its primary civil law interest, was inconvenient to the Shi'a, since their political-legal opposition was founded mainly on the claims of inheritance by 'Alī and Fāṭima and condemns the usurpation of the first caliph by

¹ Al-Bukhārī, M. *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 3/1126-1127.

confiscating the rights of the legal heirs of the Prophet. Therefore they change this troublesome sentence to: *lā yūrath* (passive) *mā tarakna ṣadaqatan* (a change which cannot be properly demonstrated in transcribed form). By means of the graphic syntactic correction the principle attains the following meaning: “What we leave behind for charity cannot be inherited (but all else is subject to the usual laws of inheritance).”²

However, another form commonly found among the Shi‘ites of this narration is: *lā nuwarrithu* (with *shaddah* in the letter *r*) *mā taraknā ṣadaqatan* (with a *fatḥah* in the letter *t*), which gives the following meaning: “We [prophets] do not make what we leave as charity to be inherited.” This meaning is very close to the meaning of the later form.³

3. An *‘isnād* might be manipulated to hide the weakness of a narration and give it the appearance of authenticity by omitting the names of weak narrators, hiding their original names, or giving them unknown names or even the names of famous reliable narrators. For example, Ibn al-Madīnī said:

Husayn al-Ashqar told me, Shu‘ayb ibn ‘Abd Allah told us [a narration] from Abū ‘Abd Allah, [who heard it] from Nuwf, who said: “I spent a night with ‘Alī [ibn Abī Ṭālib]....” He [Husayn] made a speech.”

Ibn al-Madīnī said: “I asked Husayn, ‘From whom did you hear this [narration]?’

He said, ‘Shu‘ayb passed it on to me from Abū ‘Abd Allah, [who heard it] from Nuwf.’

Then I [Ibn al-Madīnī] met Shu‘ayb and asked him: ‘Who told you this [narration]?’

He said, Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Qāṣṣāṣ.’

So I asked [Abū ‘Abd Allah]: ‘From whom [did you hear it]?’

² Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2/102; See also, Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 6/202; Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, *Umdat al-Qārī*, 15/20.

³ Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 6/202; Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, *Umdat al-Qārī*, 15/20.

He replied, ‘From Ḥammād!’

Then I met Ḥammād and asked him: ‘Who told you this [narration]?’

He said, ‘I was told it by Farqad al-Sabkhī, [who heard it] from Nuwfl’⁴

So, in his transmission of this narration, Ḥusayn omitted two of the narrators (Ḥammād and Farqad). In addition, he did not fully identify Abū ‘Abd Allah, for it appeared later that he was Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Qāṣṣāṣ, who was in fact a weak narrator.

4. An authentic narration by the Prophet might be explained by a scholar in a particular way that supported his opinion. This practice could produce a very strange interpretation of a narration. For instance, at the Friday prayers, is it permitted to pray the two *rak‘ahs* (*taḥiyyat al-masjid*) during the *khuṭbah* (sermon)? There is a well-known general rule – accepted by every scholar of Islam – that everyone must keep silent during the *khuṭbah* of the Friday prayers. This rule was established on the basis of a sound narration by the Prophet, who said:

When the *‘imām* [of the Friday prayers] is delivering the *khuṭbah* and you ask your companion to keep quiet and listen, then there is no doubt that you have done wrong [because you didn’t keep silent].”⁵

However, there is another, equally sound, narration which says that the *taḥiyyat al-masjid* is the exception to the general rule:

⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Tadrib al-Rāwī* 1/227-228.

⁵ M. al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/316; M. al-Nisābūrī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/583.

One day, the Prophet was speaking at the Friday prayers when a person called Salik entered the mosque and sat down without praying the *tahiyyat al-masjid*. Then the Prophet asked him: "Have you prayed the two *rak'ahs*?"

"No," replied the man.

So the Prophet said: "Stand up and pray them."⁶

Imam Abū Ḥanīfah did not follow this practice, possibly because he did not know about it or because he had not received the narration via a transmission strong enough to highlight the exception to the general rule that was based on the well-known sound narration.

Followers of Imam Abū Ḥanīfah received this narration from a strong transmission because it was related by al-Bukharī, Muslim and many others. Nevertheless, they preferred to accept Abū Ḥanīfah's opinion to avoid differing with him, even if that resulted in an extreme interpretation. For example, they said that Prophet had received a revelation from Allah that the man concerned had not performed the dawn prayer that day.⁷ Therefore, instead of simply saying that Imam Abū Ḥanīfah had not heard of the narration or that he had received it via a weak transmission, they decided to explain it in a way which harmonized with their Imam's opinion. Many similar cases can be found in every doctrine.

5. There were those who accepted a weak narration or rejected a sound narration because the former supported a particular opinion or the latter contradicted it. A well-known group which followed this practice were the Mujasimites, who

⁶ Ibid., 1/315; Ibid., 2/597.

⁷ Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, 2/410.

considered weak or even forged narrations to be sound if they supported their opinions. For instance, Ibn al-Qayyim, in his famous book, *Zād al-Ma'ād fi Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, referred to a long narration that compared Allah to His creation:

You [humankind] will remain for a long time. Then your Prophet will die. You will continue to live [here] for a long time. Then the declaration [of the end of the world] will be made [by Israfil]. I swear by your Lord that nothing will be left on the earth. The angels will also pass away. Your Lord [Allah] will move upon the earth, whose land has been emptied for Him...⁸

After quoting this narration, Ibn al-Qayyim said:

This is a great and sublime narration. Its majesty, magnificence and greatness affirm that it was said by the Prophet."⁹

This was in spite of the fact that the narration was forged and had a very weak *'isnād* containing two unknown narrators. Many Hadith scholars, such as Ibn Kathir, maintained that it was forged, and Ibn Hajar asserted that it was very strange.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Ibn al-Qayyim judged it to be sound, even quoting Ibn Mindah, who said:

Nobody denies this narration except the denier, the uneducated or the dissenter from the Book and the Sunnah.¹¹

⁸ 'Aḥmad al-Shaybānī, *al-Musnad*, 4/13.

⁹ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Zād al-Ma'ad fi Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, 3/588–591.

¹⁰ Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 5/80–82; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 5/50.

¹¹ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Zād al-Ma'ad fi Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, 3/591.

Doctrinal Forgers

The forgers of narrations can be divided into two main groups, according to their doctrinal affiliation.

The Political Parties

The Imāmite Shi'ites declared that the caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān and their supporters tried to hide the Prophetic narrations which showed that 'Alī had been nominated by the Prophet himself to take over the caliphate after the Prophet's death. According to the Shi'ites, instead of publishing those narrations and following their advice by giving the caliphate to its legitimate holder, they broadcast other narrations showing that the caliph was to be elected by the Muslims and that there was no legal text giving precedence to the nomination of a person or a group to assume the caliphate. However, that practice did not prevent the adherents of the two caliphs from forging narrations supporting the person whom they considered should hold the office of caliph.

Ahmad Amīn said:

Forgery was widespread. Forgers fabricated narrations for the following reasons:

Political conflict: The conflicts between 'Alī and Abū Bakr, 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik [ibn Marwān], and the Umayyads and the Abbasids were all reasons for forging numerous narrations.

Ibn Abī Ḥadīd says in [his book] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*: "You should know that the main reason for fabricating virtues originated among the Shi'ites. First, they forged narrations in favour of their leader ['Alī] because they hated their opponents.

...When the Bakrites [followers of Abū Bakr] saw what the Shi‘ites had done, they forged narrations [in favour of] their leader [Abū Bakr], contradicting those narrations. This was in reaction to hadiths such as that of friendship – “If I had to choose a friend...” and that of closing the gates, which were in favour of ‘Alī. However, the Bakrites also promoted Abū Bakr. When the Shi‘ites saw what the Bakrites had forged, they multiplied their efforts in forging narrations.... Then the Bakrites retaliated with numerous tirades against ‘Alī and his two sons. Sometimes, they highlighted mental weakness; sometimes, political weakness; and sometimes, the love of this world (*al-dunya*). In fact, it was not necessary for either group to behave like that, because the sound virtues of both ‘Alī and Abū Bakr were sufficient and there was no need to promote their devotion.¹²

In fact, all four caliphs enjoyed sufficient popularity among the Muslims so that they did not need to resort to the tactics of which the Shi‘ites accused them. In addition, history has shown that there was no opposition to their eligibility to take over the caliphate. On the contrary, their government was generally considered legitimate and the transition of one holder of the caliphate to the next took place quite smoothly.

Nevertheless, although it had not been necessary to use the Prophetic hadiths to legitimize the rule of the orthodox caliphs, the situation changed completely during the Umayyads era. The Umayyads had acquired a poor reputation during the time of the Prophet, for they had been the strongest opponents of Islam. Therefore, their own history did not show them to be suitable leaders of the Muslim community. Moreover, Mu‘āwiyah had employed dubious tactics to gain power, and had then imposed a hereditary system of succession to the caliphate.

The Umayyads were not only unjust rulers, but also kings in the worst sense of the word. They built palaces, seized the exchequer and the income from *zakah*,

¹² ‘Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-’Islām* pp.212-213.

installed their relatives in the important posts, committed every kind of sin such as drinking alcohol and indulging in licentious entertainments, and generally broke many of the Laws of Allah.¹³

This behaviour made it difficult for the people to accept the Umayyad government. A simple comparison shows the marked difference between the era of the orthodox caliphs and that of the Umayyad, a difference which appeared only thirty years after the time of the Prophet. The result was that some Islamic groups felt fully justified in labelling the Umayyad government un-Islamic.

The Umayyads found themselves condemned by the orthodox Muslim community, especially by the scholars of Islam. However, the popular rejection of the Umayyads was not always peaceful, for it also took a military turn in the form of rebellions that frequently erupted in many places from the beginning of the Umayyad reign. Most of these rebellions were instigated by scholars of Islam from the Companions or other supporters.

In the face of this situation, the Umayyads declared that it was a pressing necessity to support the pillars of their tottering government by producing the appropriate evidence to legitimize it, especially from the Prophetic narrations. Consequently, they spread narrations advising Muslims to obey the Umayyad government either because it was considered Islamic or because rebellion against the current government could provoke civil war (*fitnah*), leading to killing, public disorder and widespread fear, all of which was to be avoided.¹⁴

¹³ Al-Ṣhaybānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* 3/224, 4/163.

¹⁴ Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* pp.47-48.

The Umayyads also tried to damage the reputation of their opponents by condemning them as terrorists and outlaws. In short, they brainwashed their people into believing that acceptance of the current situation was better and more legitimate than rebelling against it or supporting its opponents.

There was no improvement in the situation following the overthrow of the Umayyads by the Abbasids in 132 AH/750 AC, rather, it became worse. The Abbasids went even further by alleging that the caliphate was theirs by right of inheritance from the Prophet, who had died without leaving a son. Consequently, his uncle, al-‘Abbās, was his nearest paternal male relative (‘*aṣabah*), from whom the Abbasids were descended. They therefore considered themselves the heirs of the Prophet.¹⁵ In their view, the caliphate was to be treated in the same way as an inheritance, despite the fact that this system of government violated Islamic Law.

In their efforts to use religion to legitimize their government, the Abbasids faced huge challenges, especially from the sons of their uncle Abū Ṭālīb, the ‘Alawites, who had preceded the Abbasids in spreading narrations showing that ‘Alī and his offspring had a prior claim to the caliphate.

The Religious Groups

There were differences between the Islamic groups in using the distortion of the Hadith to support their opinions. Some were well known for following this practice, whereas others were equally well known for avoiding it. The religious groups could be divided into three categories:

¹⁵ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2/100.

THE KHARIJITES

Many writers, such as Abū Zahw,¹⁶ put the Kharijites on the same level as the Shi'ites in the forging of hadiths. However, this is unjust, for the Kharijites were quite different from the Shi'ites in this regard. The Shi'ites were famous for forging hadiths, whereas the Kharijites were equally famous for their strict honesty. The latter avoided telling lies because they considered it a grievous sin. There are indeed many scholars of Islam who acquit the Kharijites of forgery, such as Abū Dā'ūd, who said:

Among the heretics, there are none more truthful concerning the hadiths than the Kharijites.¹⁷

According to al-Mubarrid,

Every group of the Kharijites disowns lying and sinners.¹⁸

Ibn Taymiyah said:

They [the Kharijites] are not the kind of people who deliberately tell lies. Rather, they are well known for telling the truth. It is said that their narration is the best one.... We investigated them and we found that they told the truth whether it supported their opinion or contradicted it.¹⁹

Among later authors who have strongly defended the Kharijites against accusations of forging hadiths was Dr Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, who says:

¹⁶ Muḥammad Abū Zahw, *al-Ḥadīth wa al-Muḥaddithūn*, p.80.

¹⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghadādī, *Al-Kifāyah*, p.130.

¹⁸ Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, *Al-Sunnah wa Makānatuhā fī al-Tashrī' al-Islāmī*, pp.82–83.

¹⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Muntaqā min Munhāj al-'Iṭidāl fī Naqḍ Kalām Ahl al-Rafḍ wa al-'Iṭizāl* p.505.

I have not found a single narration forged by a member of the Kharijites. I have searched carefully in books of forged narrations but I have not found a member of the Kharijites listed among the liars and forgers. I have tried to find scientific proof supporting the charge against the Kharijites of forging hadiths. On the contrary, however, I have found that all the scientific proof dispelled this accusation. As we have mentioned, the Kharijites considered sinners to be infidels. Telling lies is a grievous sin, especially [those] concerning the Messenger of Allah....If they deemed it permissible to tell lies about the Messenger of Allah, then they would have deemed it permissible to tell lies about other, inferior, caliphs, as well as emirs and tyrants like Ziyād and al-Hajjāj. However, all the historical texts clearly state that they faced governors, caliphs and emirs very frankly and honestly. So, why then, should they tell lies? Nevertheless, I wish to emphasize that although it is important to find a single piece of evidence which states that they forged a narration, I have not found it so far.²⁰

Another author who has rejected the charge against the Kharijites of forging hadiths

is Dr M.A. al-Khaṭīb, who says:

I have not found in the references any evidence stating that the Kharijites forged narrations, or that they used them to support their attitude or prove their opinions.... Maybe they avoided telling lies because of their belief that a perpetrator of sin is an infidel. Telling lies is a grievous sin. There is much evidence emphasizing the fact they are honest narrators of the hadiths.²¹

Dr ‘Umar Fallātah says:

There is no record of the Kharijites forging hadiths. If we examine the books which were written as collections of forged hadiths, and take every type of forged narration, including those narrations of groups and doctrines which were forged to support those doctrines, we shall never find in those books any mention of the opinions of the Kharijites. That proves that the Kharijites never forged a narration about the Messenger of Allah. It is indeed an endorsement underlining the fact that the Kharijites never went down that road to support their doctrines or to invite others to share their opinions. If their innocence of forging narrations to support their own opinions was proved, in spite of their need of support, then their

²⁰ Al-Siba‘i, *Al-Sunnah wa Makānatuhā*, pp.82–83.

²¹ M.A. Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadwīn*, pp.204–205.

innocence of forging narrations for sharing their opinions would be *a fortiori*.²²

It is alleged that there are two pieces of evidence showing that the Kharijites did forge hadiths:

1. A narration from Ibn Lahī'ah, and others, in which he says:

I heard a shaykh from the Kharijites saying, after he had repented and returned [from his heresy], "Those narrations are a religion. So, check carefully from whom you take your religion, because when we liked something [an opinion], we made it a religion."²³

However, the shaykh mentioned in this narration is unknown, which caused many scholars like M.A. al-Khaṭīb to hesitate in accepting it.²⁴ Moreover, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdadi included the identical narration from a Rafiḍite shaykh on the same page beside that from the Kharijite shaykh. With these facts in mind, M.A. al-Khaṭīb and 'Umar Fallatah reached the conclusion that there was something wrong with the narration, which invalidated it.²⁵

2. Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī declared that the following hadith was forged by the Kharijites. According to them, the Prophet says:

After my death, there will be narrators transmitting hadiths from me. Review their narrations and compare them with the Qur'an.

²² 'Umar Fallātah, *al-Waḍ' fī al-Ḥadīth*, 1/235–237.

²³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi' li Akhlāq al-Rāwī wa 'Ādāb al-Sāmi'*, 1/137. See also, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*, 2/248.

²⁴ Al-Khaṭīb, M. *al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadwīn*, pp.204–205.

²⁵ Ibid.; 'Umar Fallātah, *al-Waḍ' fī al-Ḥadīth*, 1/235–237.

Whatever agrees with the Qur'an, accept it. Whatever contradicts the Qur'an, do not accept it.²⁶

This narration was mentioned by al-Dāraquṭnī, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Bayhaqī and others. It has been classified as weak because its *'isnad* contains weak narrators. Al-Dāraquṭnī's narration is classified as weak by al-Dāraquṭnī himself, because of Ṣāliḥ ibn Mūsā. Another narration, narrated by al-Dāraquṭnī himself, has been classified as weak because of Jubārah ibn Mughallis.²⁷ Al-Ṭabarānī's narration has been classified as weak because of Abū Ḥāḍir, 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd Rabbih.²⁸ In addition, al-Bayhaqī's narration has been classified as weak because of Khālīd ibn Abī Karīmah.²⁹ In fact, not a single Kharijite has been included among those narrators. Therefore, if we accept this hypothesis, the narration was forged. Clearly, the Kharijites were innocent of the charge of forging this narration.

In conclusion, there is no real evidence to prove that the Kharijites followed the practice of forging hadiths.

AHL AL-SUNNAH WA AL-JAMĀ'AH

Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah were the leaders of Hadith literature. Since they comprised the majority of the Muslim community, most of those who supervised and

²⁶ Al-Rabī' al-Farāhidī, *al-Jāmi' al-Saḥiḥ*, p.12; 'Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifat al-Sunan wa al-'Āthār*, 1/118; 'Alī al-Daraqutnī, *al-Sunan*, 4/208; Sulaymān al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, 12/244. Al-Siba'ī, *Al-Sunnah wa Makānatuhā*, p.83

²⁷ Al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, 4/208.

²⁸ Muḥammad al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id*, 1/170.

²⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifat al-Sunan wa al-'Āthār*, 1/118.

studied the Hadith came from this group. There were among them those who spread forged and distorted narrations. However, they were not all of the same view, for some were supporters of the current government, fanatical adherents to the opinions of their doctrine and extremely hostile to other Islamic groups. In these circumstances, the forgery and distortion of narrations became commonplace among Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah.

In addition, they had their own differences in thought, *'aqidah* and *fiqh*. This situation led to their division into numerous competitive cliques, each holding resolutely to its opinions, which resulted in fanaticism and conflict.

When Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah discovered that the Shi'ites were forging narrations extolling the virtues of 'Āl al-Bayt (Family of the Prophet) and slandering the Companions such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Mu'āwiyah, they retaliated by forging narrations that had never been said by the Prophet in praise of those Companions. Some went further by forging narrations slandering 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Others distorted the narrations ascribing virtues to 'Alī, deliberately transferring the virtues to other Companions so as to enrage the Shi'ites.³⁰

From those narrations, it is well known that 'Alī was the soldier who fought and killed Marḥab the Jew at the Battle of Khaybar³¹. However, according to another narration, this achievement was attributed to another Companion, Muhammad ibn Maslamah³².

³⁰ 'Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-'Islām* pp.212-213.

³¹ Muslim al-Nisābūrī, *Al-Jāmī' al-Ṣaḥīh*, 3/1440.

³² Abu 'Abd Allah al-Hākim, *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīhayn*, 3/494.

Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah were responsible for forging narrations in defence of Mu'āwiyah, the Umayyads and the Abbasids, because their attitude was one of peaceful acceptance. In general, they did not support resistance movements, such as those of the Kharijites and the Shi'ites, against the current government. There is no doubt that the hostility of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah towards the Kharijites and the Shi'ites was the basis of the former's preference to be governed by the Umayyads and the Abbasids, rather than by a revolutionary government. This conclusion is drawn from narrations describing Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah as being in favour of suppressing the rebels, whom they regarded as terrorists and outlaws. Moreover, they judged them to be unbelievers, who would go to the Hell-fire.³³

Ahl al-Sunnah usually tolerated unjust rulers and they forbade rebellion against them. Their view contradicted other doctrines which required, or at least permitted, resistance to a tyrannical government. Groups such as the Ibadites, the Kharijites and the Shi'ites, put their resistance into practice.

Meanwhile, the concept of anthropomorphism with regard to Allah was spreading among some of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, though the majority did not accept it. There is no concrete evidence supporting the concept in the Qur'an, and its followers faced strong opposition from the followers of other Islamic doctrines, especially the Mu'tazilites. However, those who believed in anthropomorphism used every means to spread their ideas, and they did not hesitate to forge some narrations and distort others in support of their beliefs.

³³ Al-'Ukburī, Ibn Baṭṭāh, *Al-Sharḥ wa al-'Ibānah* pp.31-32.

The scholars of Ahl al-Sunnah tried to contain the practice of forgery among the ignorant members of their community, though not among the pious scholars.³⁴ They asserted that the ignorant members of Ahl al-Sunnah forged narrations glorifying the Companions in reaction to the Shi'ite forging narrations that slandered them and glorified 'Āl al-Bayt. However, according to Goldziher, and others, the pious scholars of Ahl al-Sunnah also forged narrations. Many of these people were exploited by the ruling authorities, who required them to spread appropriate beliefs among the Muslim community.³⁵ Therefore, it is very difficult to deny that scholars of orthodox Islam practised deceit (*tadlīs*) and the distortion (*tahrīf*) of narrations. Indeed, many scholars have admitted that even pious individuals forged narrations. Yahya ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān says:

I have found more liars among those to whom are attributed piety and asceticism.³⁶

'Abd al-Jabbar ibn Muhammad described Abū Dā'ūd al-Nakh'ī as follows:

He prayed the longest at night and fasted the most in the daytime, but he was a forger of hadiths.³⁷

It was also a common practice among Ahl al-Sunnah to accept weak and forged narrations. Ibn Ḥajar in his book, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*³⁸ and Abū al-Wafā in his

³⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1/12; Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Manār al-Munīf*, 1/116.

³⁵ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2/120.

³⁶ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzi, *al-Mawḍū'āt*, 1/18.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*, 1/27-49.

book, *Al-Tabyīn Li Asmā' al-Mudallisīn*³⁹ mentioned many scholars among the deceivers⁴⁰ (*al-mudallisīn*). Moreover, scholars of orthodox Islam used to accept weak or forged narrations as sound narrations. In his book *Al-Mawdu'āt*, Ibn al-Jawzī mentioned forged narrations, giving as examples those which had been included in canonical collections such as the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. Sometimes, scholars helped indirectly to spread forged narrations by transmitting them without mentioning that they were forged, because, in many cases, they were unaware of the fact. Ibū al-‘Aynā’ said:

Al-Jāhiẓ and I forged a narration about Fadak [an oasis in the north of Ḥijāz]. Then we included it in the scholars’ narrations in Baghdad. They all accepted it except Ibn Shaybah al-‘Alawī. He rejected it, saying, “It is a lie.”⁴¹

THE SHI‘ITES

It is agreed among the orthodox scholars of Hadith that of all the Islamic groups, the Shi‘ites forged the largest number of narrations, especially those concerning the caliphate and its virtues. Ibn Taymiyah said:

Those who examine the books [of *Al-Jarḥ wa Ta’dīl*] will find, along with their authors, that the Shi‘ites are well known to have forged more [narrations] than all the other groups.⁴²

From their beginning, the Shi‘ites lived in bitter conflict with successive governments. Their history seems to have consisted of a series of unsuccessful rebellions

³⁹ Abū al-Wafā al-Ḥalabī, *al-Tabyīn Li Asmā' al-Mudallisīn*, 1/39–41.

⁴⁰ A Deceiver (*mudallis*) is one who makes changes to a weak *‘isnād* to hide its weakness.

⁴¹ Ibn Ḥajar, al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 4/356.

⁴² Al-Dhahabī, *al-Muntaqa*, p.24.

against current governments, for a Shi'ite state did not exist in the early years of Islam.

The Shi'ites defended strongly the right of the 'Āl al-Bayt to assume the caliphate, and they used every possible means to convince others of their view. One of those means was the forgery of narrations as a weapon against their enemies. They forged thousands of narrations glorifying the virtues of 'Āl al-Bayt. Even Shi'ites scholars admitted that many of the narrations attributed to their Imams had never been said by them. They had been put into their mouths either by interpolation in their Companions' books or by some other way.⁴³ It was related by the Imams that every one of them had had a forger who forges narrations attributed to him.⁴⁴

According to al-Khalīlī:

The Rafidites [Shi'ites] forged around three hundred thousand narrations about the virtues of 'Alī and 'Āl al-Bayt." However, Ibn al-Qayyim did not think that the number was so high.⁴⁵

Of course, the Shi'ites tried to acquit themselves of the accusation that they had forged the highest number of narrations by accusing their opponents of injustice. They pointed out that Mu'āwiyah had paid some of the Companions and their Successors to forge narrations slandering 'Alī, and they had done as he had asked.⁴⁶

In addition, the Shi'ites declared that the forgery of narrations was a very common practice among Ahl al-Sunnah. The scholars of Ahl al-Sunnah had collected in *kutub al-mawḍū'āt* (books of forged narrations) 68,684 forged narrations and

⁴³ Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Musawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.135.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.136.

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Manār al-Munīf*, 1/116.

⁴⁶ Al-Musawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.137.

408,324 weak narrations. That indicated that the level of forgery of narrations among Ahl al-Sunnah was as high as among the Shi'ites, or even higher.⁴⁷

However, the statistics given by the Shi'ites are a sophism for they do not include the repetition of narrations in different books. In fact, the totals of forged and weak narrations in the largest collections are nowhere near as high. For instance, the total of weak narrations in Ibn al-Jawzi's book, *al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, which is a large collection, is only 1,579.⁴⁸ Moreover, many of the forged narrations collected in books by Ahl al-Sunnah were of Shi'ite origin.

Aims of the Doctrinal Forging of Narrations

The aims of a forger of doctrinal narrations can be divided into three types:

1. Support of Doctrinal Opinions

The forgery of narrations and the addition to or deletion from existing narrations were widely used to support doctrinal opinions about which the forgers were concerned. Some extremists even went as far as to attribute forged narrations to the Prophet to add weight to their argument where there was no evidence to support it or where the existing evidence was not sufficiently convincing.

Consequently, it is not unusual to find one narration consisting of a particular opinion and another narration contradicting it, both of which were attributed to the Prophet. For instance, it is narrated that the Prophet said:

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Al-Jawzī, *Al-'Ilal al-Mutnahiyah* 2/947.

My intercession [in the Hereafter] is not available to those members of my community [*'ummatī*] who commit grave sins.⁴⁹

However, it is also narrated that he said:

My intercession [in the Hereafter] is available to those members of my community [*'ummatī*] who have committed grave sins.⁵⁰

This type of narration often originated as a statement made by a scholar from among the Companions or the Successors or as a topic of debate. However, it soon evolved into a saying attributed to the Prophet himself. For instance, it is narrated that the Prophet said:

“[A person’s] faith [*'imān*] increases and decreases.”⁵¹

At the same time, it is also narrated that he said:

[A person’s] faith [*'imān*] neither increases nor decreases.”⁵²

Both narrations were merely the opinions of those who supported opposing doctrines. According to Ibn al-Qayyim:

Every narration stating that [a person’s] faith neither increases nor decreases is a fabrication. Whoever forged them was challenged by another group which had forged narrations and attributed them to the Prophet, who was supposed to have said, “[A person’s] faith increases and decreases.” ... This statement is a lie attributed to the Prophet.⁵³

⁴⁹ Al-Rabī' al-Farāhīdī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/379.

⁵⁰ Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/625; al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dā'ūd*, 4/236.

⁵¹ A. al-Jawzī, *al-Mawdū'āt*, 1/84–85; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*, 1/42.

⁵² Ibid., 1/85–87; ibid.

⁵³ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Manār al-Munīf*, 1/119.

It is also narrated that the Prophet said:

The Qur'an is the speech of Allah. It is not created. Whoever contradicts that is an unbeliever.⁵⁴

Yet this statement was attributed, word for word, by Ṣulayḥah bint Abī Nu'aym to her father.⁵⁵ At the same time, it is narrated that the Prophet said:

The Qur'an is the speech of Allah. It is neither a creator nor is it created [*lā khāliq wa lā makhlūq*]. Whoever contradicts that is an unbeliever,⁵⁶

Which, clearly, is the opinion of the opposing group.

Sometimes, narrations relating to an opinion of a particular dispute multiplied to reach a remarkably high number. This situation causes the researcher to wonder why, if one opinion had so much support, others were still being expressed. For instance, al-Dāraquṭnī collected all those narrations supporting those who asserted that believers would see Allah in this life or in the Hereafter. The total collection numbered around three hundred. Such a high number makes us ask whether they originated during the period of the Successors, who asserted that there was no possibility of Allah being seen at all, either in this life or in the Hereafter.⁵⁷

Ḥasan al-Saqqāf, a contemporary writer, says about this book:

⁵⁴ M. al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/486.

⁵⁵ Al-Ṭabarānī, S. *al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, 4/85.

⁵⁶ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/313.

⁵⁷ A. al-Khalili, *The Overwhelming Truth*, p.28.

According to the editors' numbering, *al-Dāraqutnī's* book, *al-Ru'yah*, contains 287 narrations. In their judgement, 157 (60 per cent of the total) are weak, very weak or forged.⁵⁸

2. Disparagement of Others

The forgers of narrations used various methods to achieve their aim of disparaging other doctrines. By broadcasting certain narrations either directly or indirectly, it was hoped that the other groups would be banished from the circle of Islam. In a narration attributed to the Prophet, he was supposed to have said:

Two kinds of people in my nation are not part of Islam: the Qadarites and the Rafidites.⁵⁹

This narration alleged that the Qadarites and the Rafidites were not part of the Muslim community, which meant that they were following the doctrine of unbelievers. If they were unbelievers, how should they be classified? The answer came from other narration:

Every nation has Zoroastrians. Every nation has Christians. Every nation has Jews. The Zoroastrians of this nation are the Qadarites. Their Christians are the Khashabites. Their Jews are the Murj'ites.⁶⁰

Therefore, these people should be treated like unbelievers, for this narration says:

The Qadarites are the Zoroastrians of this nation. When they fall ill, do not visit them. When they die, do not attend their funerals.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Ḥasan al-Saqqāf, *al-Bayān al-Kāfī bi Ghalaṭ Nisbat Kitāb al-Ru'yah li al-Dāraqutnī*, p.300.

⁵⁹ Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/454; Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, 1/128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mẓān*, 1/62.

⁶⁰ Al-Ṭabrānī, S. *al-Muj'am al-Awsaṭ*, 9/93.

⁶¹ Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *al-Sunan*, 4/222; al-Hākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrik*, 1/159.

So, in the view of the forger of the narration, sick Qadarites did not deserve to be visited, and the funerals of their dead did not deserve to be attended. This clearly contradicted the behaviour of the Prophet, who visited his Jewish neighbour when he was ill.⁶²

According to the forgers of hadiths, dissenting groups were cursed by Allah and His messengers:

Allah curses the Qadarites who believe in destiny and disbelieve the other destiny.... The Qadarites and the Murji'ites have been cursed by seventy-two prophets. The first was Noah and the latest is Muhammad.⁶³

That is the situation of those who follow the doctrines of the dissenters in this life. In the Hereafter, in the view of the forger of narrations, they will undoubtedly go to the Hell-fire without any right of intercession by Allah:

The Fatalists say that good and evil are in their hands. They shall have no share of My intercession [in the Hereafter].⁶⁴

The forgers of narrations assumed the right to send to the Hell-fire whomever they wished and to remove from it whomever they wished.

A quarter of faith will be taken from the Murji'ites, the Qadarites, the Rafidites and the Kharijites. Then, unbelieving, immoral and undying, they will face Allah in the Hell-fire.⁶⁵

⁶² Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/2142.

⁶³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-'Asqalānī, Lisān al-Mizān*, 4/381; Ibn 'Arrāq, *Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah*, 1/312.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3/45.

⁶⁵ Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Al-Majrūhīn*, 3/159.

Although the forger of this narration apparently believed in the removal of sinners from the Hell-fire, he did not grant this right to anyone who was not a supporter of his doctrine. Everyone else was immoral and would therefore go to the Hell-fire, just like the unbelievers.

A forger of narrations went beyond the limits of credulity when he declared that his own group of dissenters did not deserve to go to the Hell-fire. He went even further when he put the following words into the mouth of the Prophet:

The Kharijites are the dogs of the Hell-fire,”⁶⁶

Or:

The Kharijites are the dogs of the people of the Hell-fire!”⁶⁷

3. Glorification of the Doctrine

Many Islamic groups resorted to forging narrations to glorify their doctrine, its judgements and adherents. They would allege that the Prophet himself had referred to their doctrine or its founder either directly or indirectly. Numerous narrations were forged for that reason, while existent narrations were debased with additions. For instance, the Prophet was alleged to have said:

In my nation, there will be a man called Muḥammad ibn Idrīs [al-Shafī‘ī], who will be worse than the devil. There will also be a man called al-Nu‘mān [Abū Ḥanīfah]. He will be the light of my nation.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī, *al-Sunan*, 1/61; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ*, 9/42.

⁶⁷ Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ*, 8/270.

⁶⁸ Al-‘Ajlūnī, *M. Kashf al-khafā’* 1/33

Clearly, the forger of this narration was a follower of the Ḥanafite school, who was trying to glorify his Imam, while slandering the Imam of the Shafi'ites, whom he hated.

The following narration was also attributed to the Prophet:

All the other prophets are proud of me and I am proud of Abū Ḥanīfah. He is a pious man according to my Lord. He is like a mountain of knowledge. He is like a prophet of Israel's sons' prophets. Whoever loves him [Abū Ḥanīfah], loves me, and whoever hates him, hates me.⁶⁹

This method of glorifying a particular individual was common among most of the Islamic groups. The Karramites, a sect of Ahl al-Sunnah,⁷⁰ alleged that the Prophet said:

Just before the end of the world, there will be a man called Muḥammad ibn Karrām. He will relive the Sunnah and the community [*al-jamā'ah*]. His hijrah from Khorosan to Jerusalem will be just like my Hijrah from Makkah to Medina.⁷¹

Many scholars of the Islamic doctrines explained narrations of the Prophet so as to give the impression that when he mentioned a person or a group, he was referring to their doctrine or its founder. For instance, in the following narration attributed to the Prophet,

It will not be long before people will travel widely [in search of knowledge], but they will be unable to find anyone [who will give them real knowledge] except the scholar of Medina,⁷²

The Malikites identify the "scholar of Medina" as Imam Mālik ibn Anas.⁷³

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Al-Shahriānī, M. *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1/108.

⁷¹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*, 1/418

⁷² Al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 1/168.

The Ḥanafites found a reference to their founder in the Prophet's narration:

If knowledge [religion and other faiths] was [pendant] in Pleiades,
it would be taken by the man [men] from the Persians.⁷⁴

According to the Ḥanafites, "the man" to whom Prophet referred was Abū Ḥanīfah, since he was Persian.⁷⁵

What is strange is that the Ibadites also declared that the Prophet was referring to the caliphs of the Rustimite state (*al-Dawlah al-Rustumiyyah*), an Ibadite state which existed from 140 to 296 AH/756 to 960 AC in North Africa, because they were of Persian descent. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustum, the founder of the state, was Persian.⁷⁶

⁷³ M. al-Ḥūt, *Asnā al-Maṭālib*, 1/24.

⁷⁴ Al-Nisaburi, Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1972; al-Busti, *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Ḥibbān*, 16/299.

⁷⁵ Al-'Ajlūnī, M, *Kashf al-khafā'*, 1/133.

⁷⁶ Al-Sālimī, *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/30.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Effect on the Quality of Narrations

Doctrinal conflict had a marked effect on the quality of the narrations that the adherents of particular doctrines collected and transmitted. The effect was noticeable from two aspects as described below.

The Subject of the Narrations

The adherents of a particular doctrine transmitted and collected narrations concerning topics which were of importance to them. In politics, for example, each party focused on those narrations which supported its theory. Thus, the Umayyad and the Abbasids selected narrations that limited the claimants to the caliphate to members of the Quraysh tribe. On the other hand, the Kharijites preferred to transmit narrations which advised that the holder of the caliphate should be chosen by *shūrā* (consultation) and that the applicants should not be limited to any specific tribe or clan.

Among the religious sects, the Shi'ites attached great importance to those narrations which referred to the Caliphate, in particular, the virtues of 'Āl al-Bayt (the Prophet's Family), whereas they were of no interest to other sects. Ahl al-Sunnah were concerned with those narrations which explained *fiqh*, the virtues of the orthodox caliphs, and some aspects of '*aqidah*', such as the debate on whether the

Qur'an was created. However, narrations describing virtues were of no special importance to the Ibadites.

An examination of the canonical collections of narrations by the Shi'ites will show that they tried to collect as many sayings as possible, regardless of whether they were acceptable or not, which referred to the caliphate and the virtues of 'Āl al-Bayt, and which verified the worthiness of the Imams as holders of that office. As an example, 700 or a quarter of the narrations listed in al-Kulayni's *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* relate to *al-ḥujjah*, the verification of the Imamite Shi'ite theory of the caliphate.¹ Many of these narrations were attributed to the Prophet himself, and the remainder to the Twelve Imams. Below are some examples of the narrations:

- The Imams are the caliphs of Allah on his Earth.²
- The Imams are the light of Allah on the Earth.³
- The Imams have inherited the knowledge of the Prophet and of all the prophets who preceded him.⁴
- The Imams have the same level of knowledge as that of the angels, the prophets and the messengers.⁵
- The Imams know what has happened and what will happen. Nothing can be hidden from them.⁶

¹ Muhammad al-Kulayni, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 1/233–620.

² Ibid., 1/250.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 1/281.

⁵ Ibid., 1/313.

⁶ Ibid., 1/319.

- The Imams know where they will die. They will die only when they choose to do so.⁷

These sayings are to be found only in books written by Imamite Shi'ites.

Because of the differences among Islamic doctrines in their focus of interest, there was a rapidly growing trend from the second century AH in producing compilations of narrations concerning matters of particular dispute. Some of these compilations covered several topics in *fiqh* or *'aqidah*, whereas others were confined to a single topic. The following are some typical examples:

- 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dāraqūṭnī, *al-Ṣifāt* [The Attributes of Allah]; *Ru'yat Allah* [The Vision of Allah].
- Al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī: *Aḥādīth al-'Aqidah* [The Hadiths of Dogma].
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *al-Radd 'alā al-Zanādiqah wa al-Jahmiyyah* [Refutation of the Irreligious and the Jahmites].
- Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukharī, *Khalq Af'āl al-'Ibād* [Origin of the Actions of the Servants (of God)], *Raf' al-Yadayn fī al-Ṣalāt* [Raising of the Hands in Prayer].
- 'Abd Allāh ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *'Ithbāt Ṣifat al-'Uluw* [Evidence of the Attribute Highness (to Allah)].
- Ahmad ibn Salmān al-Najjād, *al-Radd 'alā Man Yaqūl al-Qur'ān Makhlūq* [Refutation of whoever claims the Qur'an is created].

⁷ Ibid., 1/317.

The titles of some of these books indicate the author's attitude even before one has begun reading the text.

The *Asānīd* of the Narrations

If the canonical collections of hadiths by the adherents to various Islamic doctrines are compared, they will show a marked difference in their *'isnād* (chain of transmission) of the narrations. The reason is that the *asānīd* which were considered reliable were affected by the doctrinal conflict among the religious sects. The adherents to each doctrine had their own preferred *asānīd* for the transmission of narrations. In general, the *asānīd* contained narrations compiled by the author of the book, and therefore, the compilers were influenced by their adherence to a particular doctrine. As far as possible, the compilers would avoid those narrators who had transmitted the narrations of other doctrines, confining their *asānīd* to the adherents of their own doctrine, for they would be the most acceptable to their followers. Other *asānīd* or narrators would not have been given the same level of acceptability or would have even been rejected outright.

An example is the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who was one of the Twelve Imams of the Imamite Shi'ites. He is highly respected and much praised by his followers, who attribute to him many of the characteristics of the prophets and messengers of Allah, such as being without sin and being imbued with vast knowledge. As with other Imams, they rate him more highly than even some of the prophets.⁸ Nevertheless,

⁸ Ibid., 1/233–620.

Ja'far al-Şādiq himself is considered an untrustworthy narrator by certain Hadith scholars, some of whom believe that his narrations do not deserve to be written down⁹.

On the other hand, however, the Companion, Abū Hurayrah, is very popular with Ahl al-Sunnah and the Ibadites. According to them, he is the most famous narrator of hadiths, and his trustworthiness and loyalty are beyond question. Al-Suyūṭī says:

The Companion who narrated the highest number of hadiths was Abū Hurayrah. He narrated 5,374 hadiths. Among them were 325 hadiths which were included in two *ṣaḥīḥs* [al-Bukhārī and Muslim]....eight hundred people narrated hadiths from him. He was the best memorizer of hadiths among the Companions.

Al-Shafi'i said: "Abū Hurayrah was the best memorizer of hadiths in his time."¹⁰

In addition, more than thirteen per cent of the narrations in the *Musnad* compiled by al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb, an Ibadite, were transmitted by Abū Hurayrah.¹¹ Nevertheless, in the view of the Shi'ites, Abū Hurayrah is considered an utter liar. They do not give any value to his narrations and even accuse him of forging some of them.¹²

Another example is Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder and Imam of the Ḥanāfites. He is the object of much respect and praise by his followers, some of whom even forged a narration that the Prophet himself had declared that Abū Ḥanīfah was the leading

⁹ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 2/88.

¹⁰ Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 2/216–217.

¹¹ Al-Busa'idī, Ṣāliḥ. *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth 'ind al-'Ibāḍīyyah* p61.

¹² Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Musawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.137.

light of the Muslim community.¹³ However, according to certain scholars, Imam Abū Ḥanīfah was weak in Hadith, and some of them asserted that his narrations should not be written down. A few went as far as to describe him as a bad omen or even as Satan.¹⁴

In the same way, the founders and leaders of some doctrines have been regarded as untrustworthy or unknown by the followers of other doctrines. It is difficult to find a biography of the leaders of the Ibadites in the scholars' encyclopaedias of Hadith narrators.

In short, it can be said that the narrators of Hadith have a tendency to a kind of cliquism. In general, the narrators in the books compiled by the Ibadites were themselves Ibadites; those in the books compiled by the Zaydites were themselves Zaydites; those in the books compiled by Ahl al-Sunnah were themselves Ahl al-Sunnah; and those in the books compiled by the Imamite Shi'ites were themselves Imamite Shi'ites. For instant, in the *Musnad* by al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb, an Ibadite, there are only two narrations whose *asānīd* contain narrators who were not Ibadite. Nearly all the narrations in the *Musnad* of Zayd ibn 'Alī, the founder of the Zaydite doctrine, were transmitted from his father from his grandfather. The canonical collections of hadiths compiled by Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah contain only a few narrations whose *asānīd* include narrators from outside the sect;¹⁵ and the same can be said of the books compiled by the Imamite Shi'ites.

¹³ Al-'Ajlūnī, M. *Kashf al-khafā'* 1/33

¹⁴ Ibn 'Adiyy al-Jurjānī, *Al-Kāmil fī Du'afā al-Rijāl*, 7/6–8.

¹⁵ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 1/328–329.

Part 3

The Effect of Doctrinal Conflict

on the

Judgement of Hadiths

CHAPTER SIX

The Appearance of “Narration of a Heretic”

(*Riwāyat al-Mubtadi'*)

The linguistic definition of heresy (*bid'ah*) is the creation of something that is not based on an earlier paradigm.¹ Juynboll, for instance, says:

Every new idea or course of action which means a break of the routine is called *bid'a*.²

It is defined in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* as follows:

“(1) Belief or practice contrary to orthodox doctrine; (2) Opinion contrary to what is normally accepted or maintained.”³

According to Islamic Law, it is the creation of something that is inconsistent with the legal evidence or the Islamic texts.⁴

In his hadiths, the Prophet warned Muslims not to create heresies:

The worst things are innovations. Every innovation is a heresy. Every heresy is an aberration. Every aberration is in Hell.”⁵

¹ Abū 'Ismā'il 'Abd Allah al-Anṣārī, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 1/341–342; A. al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 3/1183; Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Rāzī, *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, p.30. See also, Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughith*, 2/58.

² Juynboll, G. H.A. *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadith* 3/308.

³ Della Thompson (ed.), *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 9th edn (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.634.

⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughith*, 2/58.

⁵ Muslim al-Nisābūrī, *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6/127.

In other hadiths, the Prophet gave a more specific definition, namely, that a forbidden heresy is one which is inconsistent with Islam. He said:

Anyone who creates a heresy of aberration (*bid'at ḍalālah*), condemned by God and His Messenger, will bear the sins of everyone who acts according to it without that lessening their sins in any way.”⁶

Therefore, the deciding criterion is that the heresy is inconsistent with the legal evidence.

However, some of the practices created after the death of the Prophet were not classified as heresy according to Islamic Law, even though they could be classified as such from a linguistic point of view. For instance, the creating office of the caliph or the leader of the believers, *'Mir al-Mu'minin*, was not a heresy because it was consistent with the legal evidence that stated that the Muslims must have a leader to govern their community. There were many other practices created during the existence of the caliphate. Abū Bakr collected the contents of the Qur'an into a single book, which had not previously been done. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb created the Islamic calendar, revoked the punishment for theft during a year of famine, and imposed a specific punishment for the consumption of wine. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān created a second *adhān* for the Friday prayer. Later, dots were added to some of the Arabic letters to distinguish them. No one considered any of these practices a heresy because none of them was inconsistent with the Islamic texts.

⁶ Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/45.

Those people, such as al-‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām,⁷ who classified innovations on five levels – obligatory, recommended, permissible, reprehensible, and forbidden – were applying the linguistic meaning of heresy. However, there were those, such as al-Shāṭibī,⁸ who applied the legal definition and who insisted that every heresy was forbidden.

In addition to the Arabic word *mubtadi‘* (heretic), there is another term, *zindīq* (atheist). The difference between these two terms is that *mubtadi‘* has a more general application, whereas *zindīq* is restricted to a serious disagreement over faith and is used to describe a person who holds a belief that could not be accepted by any Muslim.

It has already been mentioned that conflict among the Muslims began immediately after the death of the Prophet, when they differed over what had actually happened to him. Had he really died or had he been raised to heaven like Jesus? Then they differed over who was worthier of assuming the caliphate: the Muhajirun or the Anṣār?

Nevertheless, the Muslim community was united at that time, so it could overcome these differences. It was not yet in a state to be influenced by them to the extent that it would be divided into groups and sects. However, the situation changed after the Civil War (*fitnah*), which erupted after the assassination of the Third Caliph, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān. The Islamic Empire had already expanded to include new regions like Syria, Egypt and Iran, and it contained ethnic groups other than Arabs,

⁷ Al-‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, *Qawā‘id al-‘Aḥkām*, pp.660–661

⁸ Abū ‘Ishāq ‘Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā al-Gharnāṭī al-Shāṭibī, *al-‘Iṭīṣām*, 1/37

such as Persians, Byzantines and Egyptians. Many of those who had followed older religions, such as the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, now embraced Islam. Another important factor was that the authority of the first generation of the Companions was weakening to the lower level of the youngest Companions and their Successors.

As a result of all these factors, it became impossible to solve the problem that appeared after the assassination of ‘Uthmàn. On the contrary, it continued to grow until it was beyond control.

During the second century AH/eight century AC, the picture of the Muslim community shows a mixture of political parties and groups divided over the interpretation of *‘aqidah* and the doctrines of *fiqh*. The political arena comprised the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the ‘Alawites, and the Zaydites. The arena of *‘aqidah* included the Sunnis (*ahl al-Sunnah*), the Shi‘ites, the Kharijites, and the Mu‘tazilites. Each of these groups contained subdivisions. In the area of *fiqh*, there were many doctrines, such as that of the Ibāḍites, the Zaydites, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Awzā‘ī, al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, al-Shāf‘ī, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. At any time, the subdivision of groups according to their view of doctrine is to be expected.

The Umayyad dynasty, which ruled for 92 years from 40 to 132 AH, faced many rebellions, such as that of al-Husayn, al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, Ibn al-Ash‘ath, Zayd ibn ‘Alī, ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, the Azraqites, the Ibadites, and finally, the Abbasids, who brought the weakened Umayyad government to an end.

The Abbasid dynasty, in turn, also had to deal with numerous rebellions. Although the leaders of these rebellions had used military tactics to defeat the Umayyad government, they also tried to base their actions on ideology so as to encourage legal and popular support. However, there was also a strong ideological conflict between the followers of Islamic doctrines that differed in their interpretation of *'aqidah* and *fiqh*. The members of each group used convincing arguments, among other means, to persuade people that their doctrine was right and that the others were wrong.

The accusation of heresy was one tactic used by the conflicting groups to defame one another. The word “heresy” had by now acquired a bad reputation. Sometimes it was regarded on the same level as apostasy. The followers of each doctrine were warning their students not to listen to or even approach those whom they considered heretics. Their reasoning was that they did not want their students to be influenced by the wrong creeds promoted by others. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said:

Do not listen to heretics (*ahl al-Ahwā'*),”⁹

And he forbade anyone to sit with Ma‘bad al-Juhānī, describing him as in error and misleading (*ḍāll wa muḍill*).¹⁰ Sufyān al-Thawrī said:

Allah will not reward anyone who listens to a heretic. Sitting with a heretic is the same as destroying Islam bit by bit.”¹¹

Imam Mālik said:

⁹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl*, 3/33.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *Liṣān al-Miẓān*, 4/141.

¹¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi‘ li Akhlāq al-Rāwī*, 1/138.

Do not accept knowledge from any heretic.¹²

He also pointed out:

Praying with the Qadariyya is not allowed. Accepting hadiths from them is forbidden.¹³

Ibn Idrīs al-Khawlānī said about Abū Jamīl:

He does not agree with the interpretation of destiny. Do not sit with him.¹⁴

Al-Ḥumaydī said:

Bishr ibn al-Sariyy was a Jahmite. Accepting his narrations is forbidden.¹⁵

In addition, Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah said about Ismā‘īl ibn Samī‘:

He was a Bayhasī [a member of a sect of the Kharijites]. So I never went to him, nor even approached him.¹⁶

Mu‘ādh ibn Mu‘ādh said:

I was with Sawwār ibn ‘Abd Allāh, when a servant entered and said: “Zufar is at the door!”

Sawwār said: “The Zufar who belongs to the school of opinion? Do not let him in, for he is a heretic (*mubtadi*).”

Then one of those present said: “He is your cousin, who has been on a journey. You have not gone to him. He has come to you. It is better to let him in.”

So Sawwār let him in. Zufar entered and greeted us. I did not hear Sawwār reply. I saw Zufar holding out his hand, but Sawwār

¹² Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-‘Asqalānī, Lisān al-Mizzān*, 7/34.

¹³ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.152.

¹⁴ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizzān*, 7/34.

¹⁵ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.152.

¹⁶ Muhammad al-Dhahabī, *Mizzān al-Tīdāl*, 1/391.

did not shake it. Sawwār did not even look at Zufar until he stood up and went out.¹⁷

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says:

Bishr ibn al-Sariyy was a man from the people of Baṣrah. Then he moved to Makkah. He heard about a thousand narrations from Sufyān and we used to hear [narrations] from him.

However, when he mentioned the narration about [the people] shining and looking at their Lord [Qur'an, 75:22–23], he said disapprovingly: "I do not know what this is! What is that?"

Then al-Ḥumaydī became angry and the people of Makkah as well. They cursed him soundly. So he apologized but his apology was not accepted and the people despised him. When I [Aḥmad] came to Makkah again, he [Bishr] visited us, but we did not write down his narrations. Although he was more moderate, we still refused to write down his narrations.¹⁸

Al-Ḥasan ibn Shaqīq said:

We were with Ibn al-Mubārak when a man came to [see] him.

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] asked him, 'Are you a Jahmite?'

He [the man] replied, 'Yes.'

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] said, 'When you leave, do not come to [see] me again.'

The man said, 'I ask for forgiveness.'

He [Ibn al-Mubārak] said, 'No, not before you prove your [right to] forgiveness.'¹⁹

These stories give us some idea of how some people were treated if they had a different way of thinking.

¹⁷ Al-'Uqaylī, *al-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr*, 2/98.

¹⁸ Y. al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 4/124.

¹⁹ Al-'Ukbūrī, *Al-Sharḥ wa al-'Ibānah*, p.30.

Some went as far as to prefer dissipated individuals who supported their doctrine, or even Jews or Christians, to heretics. For instance, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said:

The graves of the dissipated members of Ahl al-Sunnah are one of the gardens of Paradise. The graves of pious heretics are one of the holes of Hell.”²⁰

Arṭa’ah ibn al-Mundhir says:

I prefer my son to be a dissipated person than a heretic.²¹

Al-Barbahānī says:

If you see one of Ahl al-Sunnah following a bad road and doctrine – a dissipated, dissolute sinner – take him as a friend and sit with him, because he will not harm you. However, if you see a man who is devout in his worship, an ascetic, and he is a heretic, do not sit with him and do not listen to what he says.²²

He also says:

Do not sit with a heretic, because I fear that a curse will come down upon you.²³

I might eat with a Jew or with a Christian, but I shall never eat with a heretic. I prefer to have an iron curtain between a heretic and me.²⁴

He even went so far as to say:

²⁰ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *Manāqib al-Imam Ahmad*, p.253.

²¹ Ibn Baṭṭah al-‘Ukburī, *al-Sarḥ wa ‘Ibānah*, p.149.

²² Ḥasan al-Barbahānī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, pp.114–117.

²³ Ibid., p.128.

²⁴ Ibid.

If Allah knows that a man hates a heretic, he will forgive him [every sin], even if he has done few good deeds. Ahl al-Sunnah must treat a heretic with reserve. He who turns his face away from a heretic, Allah will fill his heart with faith. He who berates a heretic, Allah will keep him safe on the Day of the Biggest Fear [in the Hereafter]. He who insults a heretic, Allah will raise him one hundred degrees in Paradise”²⁵

There are hadiths which are considered by many specialists, for example, Ibn Hajar, to be forged, such as those stating that the Prophet forbade the transmission of narrations from heretics. For instance, al-Khaṭīb relates via Ibn ‘Umar that the Prophet said:

Allah will fill with faith (*‘īmān*) the heart of one who has abandoned a heretic because he hated him for the sake of Allah.”²⁶

It is related via ‘Ā’ishah that the Prophet said:

Anyone who has respected a heretic (*ṣāhib bid‘ah*) has helped to destroy Islam.²⁷

In the Introduction to his book, Imam Muslim says:

May Allah guide you: you should know that is the duty of all who can distinguish between true and false narrations to transmit only narrations that are known to be from a reliable chain of transmission and to avoid the narrations of untrustworthy people and heretics (*ahl al-bida‘*).²⁸

‘Abd Allah ibn al-Mubārak says:

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ahmad al-‘Asqalani, *Lisan al-Mizan*, 2/302.

²⁷ Ahmad al-‘Asqalani, *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, 1/549; ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jawzi, *al-Mawdu‘at*, 1/199; ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Suyuti, *al-La‘ali al-Masnu‘ah*, 1/231.

²⁸ M. al-Nisābūrī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/8.

No hadiths can be written by the following four kinds of people: one who is mistaken and does not correct his mistake; a liar; a heretic who promotes his heresy; and a person who cannot memorize yet insists on narrating from memory.²⁹

The Hadith scholars gave as their reason for avoiding the transmission of narrations from heretics that the latter could be telling lies. ‘Alī ibn Ḥarb said:

If you can avoid narrating the hadiths of heretics, then do so. That is because they lie. Heretics do not care if they lie.³⁰

When he was asked about the narrations of the Rafīḍites, Imam Mālik said:

Do not talk to them and do not narrate from them, for they lie.”³¹

However, the avoidance of using narrations from heretics because of the possibility that they might be lying was often contradicted by Hadith scholars, who often considered them reliable transmitters. Rather, they avoided their narrations because they considered them heretics. For example, al-Khalīlī said about al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār (one of the Mu‘tazilites):

I quoted from him. Although he is reliable in his hadiths, he is a propagandist of his heresy. Therefore, transmission from him is forbidden.”³²

Abū Ḥātim held the same view about ‘Alī ibn Abī Hāshim:

He is truthful. However, they [the Hadith scholars] have abandoned his hadiths because he has a different interpretation of the Qur’an. His narrations are not transmitted.”³³

²⁹ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1/24.

³⁰ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.123.

³¹ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1/10.

³² Ibid., 3/561.

³³ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 7/344.

When Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah was asked why he had reduced the level of transmission from Sa‘īd ibn Abī ‘Arūbah, he reasoned that it was because Sa‘īd was a follower of the Qadariyyah.³⁴

Ibn al-Farḍī said about Muḥammad ibn Mufarrij al-Qurṭubī:

He was removed because he was a propagandist of the heresy of Wahb ibn Maysarah [a follower of the Qadarites].³⁵

Abū Bakr ibn ‘Ayyāsh said:

I no longer listened to the narrations of Fiṭr just because of his doctrine.³⁶

Shabbābah ibn Sawwār said:

I asked Yūnis ibn Abī Ishāq: “Why did you abandon Thuwayr’s narrations?”

He replied: “Because he is a Rafidite.”³⁷

Jarīr said about Ismā‘īl ibn Samī‘:

He was a Kharijite. I used to write down his narrations, but then I abandoned him.³⁸

These opinions show us that the refusal to transmit the narrations of heretics because of the possibility of their telling lies was not always the real reason. Many Hadith scholars abandoned or reduced the transmission of narrations from heretics only because of their heresy, not because they were unreliable or unacceptable. Clearly,

³⁴ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.152.

³⁵ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 5/343.

³⁶ Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah*, p.123.

³⁷ Ibid., pp.151–152.

³⁸ Ibn ‘Adī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fi al-Ḍu‘afā’*, 1/197.

therefore, the fact that the narrations of heretics were not examined or treated in the same way as those of other scholars was simply owing to doctrinal differences.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Differences in the Acceptance of the “Narrations of the Heretic”

First, it should be pointed out that the scholars of Islam have classified heretics under two headings: unbelieving heretics (*mubtadi' kāfir*) and corrupting heretics (*mubtadi' fāsiq*). They were also known as the repudiators of the interpretation [of the Islamic law texts] (*kuffār al-ta'wīl*) and the corrupters of the interpretation (*fussāq al-ta'wīl*).¹ However, this classification is not clear in most cases. It seems to have been more of an idiomatic usage than a true classification, since there was no agreed criterion according to which the two groups could be distinguished. This situation could lead to the conclusion that some scholars wished to attach greater importance to specific cases so as to give the impression that they were a serious threat to Islam. Anyone who disagreed with their view had to be judged more severely and so was labelled *kāfir* rather than merely *fāsiq*.

Ibn Hajar was led to point out:

In fact, not everyone who is accused of being a *kāfir* because of his heresy will have his narrations rejected because every group alleges that those who are against them are heretics. Sometimes, it can

¹ The expression *kāfir al-ta'wīl* means “the interpretation of an unbeliever” and *fāsiq al-ta'wīl* means “the interpretation of a deviant”. In this context, *al-ta'wīl*, interpretation, refers to the interpretation of the Islamic law texts, the Qur'an and the Hadith, in the sense of clarifying its meaning, the reasons for its revelation and the ordinances that are taken from it. Therefore, *kāfir al-ta'wīl* and *fāsiq al-ta'wīl* are described as such because the unbelief (*kufr*) and the deviance (*fisq*) are the result of a wrong interpretation of some of the Qur'anic verses or the hadiths according to those who hold that view.

go as far as to accuse them of apostasy. Therefore, if the classification of *kāfir* were accepted generally, then every doctrine could be accused of apostasy.²

This point was further clarified by Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd, who said:

We are not going to charge any Muslim [who faces the same *qiblah* when praying] with apostasy, except those who deny an established text of the Shari‘ah.”³

Nevertheless, some scholars tried to distinguish between a *kāfir* heretic and a *fāsiq* heretic by applying the following criteria: the heresy of a *kāfir* heretic was based on very weak evidence that could not be considered acceptable, while the heresy of a *fāsiq* heretic was based on evidence that was plausible even if other scholars did not agree with him.⁴ Again, however, this distinction was unclear, because Shari‘ah scholars held different views of the evidence itself. For example, did the evidence come from what they considered a reliable source? It seemed that definitions and evidence were going round in a never-ending circle.

Consequently, there is no need to distinguish between the two groups owing to their close similarity. It has even been found that some writers who classified them separately gave the same evidence in both cases.⁵

² Muḥammad al-Manāwī, *al-Yawāqūt wa al-Durar*, p.152.

³ Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd, *al-Iqtirāh fī Ma‘rifat al-Iṣṭilāh*, p.292.

⁴ Muḥammad al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Tawḍīḥ al-Afkār*, 2/209 (footnote).

⁵ Farghalī, Muḥammad, *Buhūth fī al-Sunnah al-Muṭahharah*, pp.218–226.

Views on the Acceptability of the Narrations of Heretics

There have been many views expressed concerning the question of whether to accept the narrations of heretics. The following are considered the most important:

1. The narrations of heretics are not acceptable

This view is attributed to Imam Mālik, Ibn ‘Uyaynah, al-Humaydī, Yūnis ibn Ishāq, ‘Alī ibn Ḥarb, al-Bāqillānī, Abū Maṣṣūr and Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī.⁶ Al-’Āmidī considered this view to be held by the majority of scholars.⁷ It is also attributed to al-Ḥillī, who was a Shi‘ite.⁸

Nevertheless, this view was criticized by Ibn Ḥajar,⁹ and al-Nawawī, who said:

This assertion is very weak, since the acceptance of narrations from heretics who were not propagandists is very common in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, as well as in other books by Hadith scholars. Both their ancestors and their descendants accepted their narrations and used them as evidence. They would listen to the heretics who would narrate hadiths to them without any contradictions.¹⁰

2. The narrations of heretics are acceptable

This view was attributed to al-Shāfi‘ī, Ibn Abī Laylā, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd and ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī. It is also attributed to

⁶ Ibid. pp.225–226; ‘Alī Biqā‘ī, *al-’Ijtihād fī ‘Ilm al-Ḥadīth*, pp.198–199.

⁷ Sa‘d al-Dīn al-’Āmidī, *al-’Iḥkām*, 2/103.

⁸ Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, *Qawā’id al-Ḥadīth*, p.193.

⁹ Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ghāyah fī Sharḥ al-Hidāyah*, vol.1, p.213.

¹⁰ Al-Manāwī, *al-Yawāqūt wa al-Durar*, pp.153–154.

the Shafi'ites and the majority of the scholars of Hadith and *'uṣūl al-fiqh*. The Ibadites and the Zaydites asserted it and it was selected by al-Ghazālī, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, al-Fakhr al-Razī and Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd.¹¹

3. The narrations of heretics are acceptable, provided that the heresies are not propagated

This view is attributed to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Mālik, ʿAbd Allah Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn. Al-Nawāwī also selected it, believing it to be held by the majority of Shariʿah scholars.¹² It was also attributed to all the Shafi'ites.¹³

As we have seen, more than one opinion can be ascribed to some doctrines and scholars, such as the Shafi'ites and Imam Mālik.

The Evidence for Unacceptability

The scholars who rejected the narrations of heretics put forward much evidence to support their view:

1. The Qur'an asks Muslims not to accept statements from those who are known to be corrupt:

¹¹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 2/63; al-ʿĪd, *Al-ʿIqtirāḥ*, p.292; ʿAbd al Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 2/325; Muḥammad al-Ṣanʿānī, *Tawḍīḥ al-Afkār*, 2/199; Muḥammad Farghalī, *Buḥūth fī al-Sunnah al-Muṭahharah*, p.226; ʿAlī Biqāʿī, *al-ʿIjtihād fī ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth*, pp.200–201; Al-Būsaʿīdī, Ṣāliḥ, *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth ʿind al-ʿIbāḍiyyah*, pp.147–148.

¹² Al-Manāwī, *al-Yawāqūt wa al-Durar*, pp.153–154.

¹³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah fī Maʿrifat al-Riwāyah*, p.121; al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth*, 2/64; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 2/325; Farghalī, *Buḥūth*, p.226.

O you who believe! If a corrupt person (*fāsiq*) brings you any news, verify it, lest you should harm people in ignorance, and afterwards regret what you have done” (49:6).

In the view of these scholars, there was no difference between those who are corrupt through committing a sin (*fāsiq al-ma‘ṣiyah*) and those who are corrupt through believing a heresy (*fāsiq al-ta‘wīl*). Therefore, the narrations of a *fāsiq al-ta‘wīl* are just as unacceptable as those of a *fāsiq al-ma‘ṣiyah*.¹⁴

This evidence has been criticized because there is a marked difference between the two types of people. Muslims are asked not to accept narrations from a sinner because he cannot be trusted, even though he was formerly known as a trustworthy person. However, a heretic is in a different situation because he knows that telling lies is a sin and therefore forbidden (in some cases he considers it to be atheism). That belief would compel him to be just as careful not to tell lies as an orthodox believer – or even more so. The heretic accepts a heresy because he has evidence to support it, even if it does not conform to his ideas.

Al-Sālimī says:

Disbelief in an interpretation and transgression (*kufṛ al-ta‘wīl wa fisquh*) do not prevent one from regarding the interpretation as authentic (*kāfir* and *fāsiq* of interpretation). So, it should be accepted because of the belief in its authenticity. Hence, the trust in the truthfulness of those who believe that telling lies is polytheism, such as the Azraqites and the Ṣufrites, is much stronger than the trust in the truthfulness of others. We know from analysing the thinking of those who believe in Allah and His reward and punishment that they avoid polytheism more than any other sin. We also know that the person who believes that telling lies is polytheism avoids it more carefully than the person who believes

¹⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 2/59; Farghalī, *Buḥūth*, p.218.

that telling lies does not lead him to polytheism. So, if the belief in an Azraqite's truthfulness, for example, is equal to that of another person, when he is asked only for his opinion, not a statement of fact, then there is no reason to accept one and reject the other.¹⁵

2. The following hadith was narrated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī via Ibn 'Umar.¹⁶

The Prophet said:

Oh, son of 'Umar, it is your religion! It is your religion! It is like your flesh and blood. So, be careful from whom you accept it. Accept it from those who follow the straight path. Avoid the deviants.¹⁷

However, this hadith is considered weak by many Hadith scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī, who says: "It is not sound."¹⁸

3. In accepting the narrations of heretics, there is the risk of propagating their heresies and enhancing their status. This contradicts the fact that Muslims are asked not to accord them respect or imply that they have a good reputation.¹⁹ However, this evidence was also disproved, because the reason is not strong enough to reject a sound hadith of the Prophet. The rejection of sound hadiths would lead to the loss of a large part of Islam, especially if the hadiths were not to be found among the orthodox believers. Therefore, if a heretic is trustworthy, Muslims are to accept his narrations, regardless of their opinion of the narrator himself.

¹⁵ 'Abd Allah al-Sālimī, *Ṭal'it al-Shams*, 2/33.

¹⁶ According to Al-Jawzī, this hadith was also narrated via Abū Hurayrah and Anas. However, he said that they were all weak. See, Al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-'Ilal al-Mutnāhiyah*, 1/123.

¹⁷ Al-Khaṭīb, Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.121.

¹⁸ Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 2/60.

¹⁹ Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, *Al-'Iqtirāḥ*, p.246. Farghalī, *Buḥūth*, p.227.

However, there were other ways of warning people against heretics and their heresies without rejecting their sound narrations.

Evidence of Acceptability

Scholars who accept the narrations of heretics, without distinguishing between those which were propagated and others, say that there is no reason to reject them. The heretics are Muslim, and, provided they are trustworthy, their narrations should be accepted. If this were not done, then many hadiths of the Prophet would be lost for no good reason. A heretic is not the same as a *fāsiq*, for he does what he does because he believes that it is Islamic. In contrast, a *fāsiq* commits sins without believing that it is Islamic.²⁰

Moreover, it is found that some narrators who are considered heretics are more supportive of honesty than other people, because they believe that telling lies is a grave sin which could even land the sinner in Hell. Therefore, the criterion for accepting the narrations of orthodox believers (the belief in their honesty) could still be applied to heretics.

Many scholars soon realized that excluding the narrations of heretics had serious consequences, leading to the loss of a large amount of Shari'ah law concerning the accusation of heresy, which, rightly or wrongly, had become very common since the early years of Islamic history.

Al-Khaṭīb relates that 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī said:

²⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 2/61; Farghalī, *Buḥūth*, p.220.

I told Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān that Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī said: “I am excluding the scholars of Islam, for they are all leaders of heresy.”

Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd laughed, saying: “So, what is he doing about Qatādah? What is he doing about ‘Amr ibn Dharr al-Hamadānī? What is he doing about Ibn Abī Rawwad?”

[‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī said:] “Yaḥyā included people whom I do not want to mention.”

Then Yaḥyā said: “If Abd al-Raḥmān excludes [the narrations of] these narrators, he will exclude many [narrators and narrations].”²¹

Al-Khaṭīb also relates that ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī says:

If I excluded [the narrations of] the people of Baṣrah because of [their opinion of] destiny, and [the narrations of] the people of Kufa because of [their opinion of] Shi‘ism, the books of Hadith would be empty.²²

Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī says:

I shall never reject the narrations of a man who has a good knowledge of Hadith and who is truthful, only because of [his opinion of] destiny. I shall never accept narrations from a man who does not have a good knowledge of Hadith, even if he is better than Fath [al-Mūṣilī].²³

Evidence for Qualified Acceptability

The narrations of heretics are acceptable provided that they do not propagate their heresy. The scholars who hold this view say that if a heretic were seen to embellish his heresy, that could encourage him to change a hadith to match his doctrine. Therefore, this possibility means that he can not be trusted. This reasoning led some

²¹ Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāyah*, p.157.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

scholars only to reject the narration of a propagandist if it supported his heresy. If this was not the case, then they accepted it.²⁴

However, this reasoning is disproved because if a heretic accepts that it is forbidden to tell lies, then he will avoid doing so by basing his heresy only on sound evidence. He believes what he believes according to the evidence, in the same way as an orthodox believer.

This difference itself produced the following result. A heretic would not command the same level of respect as an orthodox believer, and therefore his narrations could not be treated in the same way as those of an orthodox believer. In any case, a heretic's narrations were accorded a lower status than those which supported orthodox belief. Even those scholars who chose to accept the narrations of heretics did not attach the same level of importance to them as to those of the followers of their own doctrine. They applied a famous rule created by the Shari'ah scholars: that which was in agreement [with Islam] was better than that which differed from it. This rule was based on the following hadith of the Prophet:

If you have doubt about something, it is better to avoid it.²⁵

The qualifications for the acceptability of narrations influenced the collectors of hadiths, who organized them into *masānīd*, *ṣiḥāḥ*, *ma'ājim* and *sunan*, for they did not treat the narrations of heretics and those of orthodox believers in the same way. It

²⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 2/325; Farghalī, *Buḥūth*, p.228; Biqā'ī, *al-Ijtihād*, p.202.

²⁵ Al-Shaybānī, 'Aḥmad, *Musnad 'Aḥmad* 1/200; Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad, *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/668; Al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Khuzaymah* 4/59; Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā* 5/335

is clearly noticeable that they gave priority to the narrations of those who supported their own doctrine. This practice was followed by the adherents of every doctrine without exception.

In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, the proportion of heretic narrators is five per cent of the total number of 2,095 narrators in both books. Some of those narrators are thought to be of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, the doctrine of both writers. The number of narrations from the Ibadites, for example, which are included in the nine main collections²⁶, is 200.²⁷ This proportion was less than 0.3 per cent of the total number of about 70,000 narrations.

On the other hand, the *Musnad al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb*, whose compiler was an Ibadite, contains only five narrations from narrators outside that group. That proportion is just 0.67 per cent of the total number of 743 narrations. The collection does not include any narrations from the Shi'ites or the Kharijites.²⁸ The same policy was implemented by the Shi'ites themselves, who included very few narrations from narrators who were not of their sect.

Views of Later Scholars

Up to the present time, there has been no noticeable positive change in the policy concerning the acceptance of narrations from heretics, despite a widespread demand to promote the unity of the Muslim community (Ummah) and to remove all the deep-

²⁶ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, *Sunan Abī Dā'ūd*, *Sunan ibn Mājah*, *Musnad 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, *Muwattā Mālik ibn Anas* and *Sunan al-Dārimī*.

²⁷ Al-Busa'idī, *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth*, p.215.

²⁸ Ibid. pp.74-75.

rooted conflicts between Islamic groups and doctrines. These differences among Muslims have resulted in serious harm and have been one of the main causes of weakness and disunity in the Muslim community.

Nevertheless, the situation remains the same as before. Many scholars cast doubts on the narrations from those who do not follow their doctrine.

For example, a scholar from Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, Bakr Abū Zayd, published a book expressing doubts about the authorship of the *Musnad al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb*.²⁹ He implied that the work was forged by an anonymous author, despite confirmation from the Ibadites that it was written by one of their famous scholars, who lived in the first and second centuries AH. Nevertheless, Bakr Abū Zayd did not hesitate in declaring that “no womb had carried al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb” (in other words, he had never existed), simply because his name could not be found in the records of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. Apparently, the author is unaware that the records of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah do not contain the names of all the scholars of Islam. If that reasoning were applied generally, it would mean that thousands of scholars had not existed (no womb had carried them), because their names were not included in those records. Bakr Abū Zayd forgot, or pretended to forget, that those writers of these books did not attach much importance to the biographies of scholars who were not from the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, especially those who were classified as Kharijites. The fact is that none of those authors alleged that his book contained the names of all the scholars of Islam, whether orthodox believers or dissenters.

²⁹ Bakr Abū Zayd, *Musnad al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb: Kitāb manḥūl li Mu'allif Majhūl*. See also, Mashhūr ibn Ḥasan, *Kutub Ḥadhdhar minhā al-'Ulamā'*, 2/295.

In addition, the Shi'ites' scholars cast doubts on the authenticity of the books of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah.³⁰

³⁰ Al-Mūsawī, Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth* 145-146.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Effect of These Differences on the Judgement of Hadiths

The effect of conflict among the scholars of Islam on their judgement of hadiths can be summarized from two aspects.

1- The Definition of a Hadith

The majority of the scholars of Islam define a hadith as a report about one of the Sayings or deeds of the Prophet Muhammad, or a statement made or an action performed in his presence of which he approved. However, the Imamite Shi'ites add the sayings and deeds of the Twelve Imams, as well as statements and actions witnessed and approved by them. The Imamite Shi'ites decided that what was produced by the Twelve Imams was legitimate evidence and should be regarded as being on the same level as the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad.¹

Consequently, there is a marked difference between the Imamite Shi'ites and the other scholars of Islam in their definition of a hadith. It was the basis of a bitter argument over the addition of what had been said, done and approved by the Twelve

¹ Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, *Qawa'id al-Ḥadith*, p.10; Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Mighbās al-Hidāyah* 1/57-58; 'Umar al-Faramāwī, *'Uṣūl al-Riwāyah 'ind al-Shi'ah al-Imāmiyyah*, p.177.

Imams to the Hadith, which Muslims were asked to acknowledge and follow. Therefore, such a strong doctrinal difference seriously affected the number of narrations which were considered acceptable hadiths and treated as legitimate evidence.

The majority of Muslims consider the Sunnah – which they are required to acknowledge and follow – to comprise only what was said, done and approved by the Prophet. In their view, what was said, done and approved by other people cannot be regarded as legitimate evidence. Its acceptance depends on its proximity to the Qur'an and the Sunna because no one is free of sin except the prophets and messengers of Allah. Revelation ended with the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

However, the Imamite Shi'ites have a different view. They assert that the Twelve Imams were infallible and were the curators of the Muslim community (Ummah) after the death of the Prophet. Everything that they said, did or approved of was the result of inspiration from Allah. They spoke only the truth and did only what was lawful. Therefore, what they said, did and approved should be considered legitimate evidence and acknowledged as such.

If the hadiths compiled by Imamite Shi'ites are examined, it will be found that the majority of the narrations are taken from their imams, especially from Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq. Narrations of the Prophet comprise only around thirteen per cent of the total.² The Imamite Shi'ites rank the narrations of their imams on the same level as those of the Prophet and treat them as legitimate evidence. According to al-Kulaynī, Imam al-Ridā said:

² This result was obtained by totalling the narrations of the Prophet in the first 200 narrations in al-Kulaynī, *'Uṣūl al-Kāfī*.

The Imamate is on the level of the prophets and is the legacy of the curators. The Imamate is the succession to Allah and the Prophet...the Imam legalizes what is allowed (*ḥalāl*) by Allah and forbids what is forbidden (*ḥarām*) by Allah. He implements the laws of Allah, defends the religion of Allah, and invites to the Way of his Lord with wisdom, fair preaching and strong evidence. The Imam is like the shining sun bathing the world in its light, yet it is in the sky – out of reach and out of sight.³

2- Classification of Acceptable and Unacceptable Hadiths

Most Muslims classify hadiths under three headings according to the quality of their transmission: sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), good (*ḥasan*), and weak (*ḍaʿīf*).⁴ Those of the first category are fully acceptable, and those of the second category are acceptable, depending on the differences in their details. Both categories are regarded as legitimate evidence owing to the strong likelihood that they originated from the Prophet. The hadiths of the third category are rejected owing to serious doubts about either the reliability of their source, the weakness in the chain of transmission, or some other strong indication that they could not have originated from the Prophet.

However, the Imamite Shiʿites classify hadiths under four headings: sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), good (*ḥasan*), authenticated (*muwaththaq*), and weak (*ḍaʿīf*) according to the doctrine of the narrators, though not necessarily that of the Imamites.⁵

The majority of the scholars of Islam define the sound hadith (*al-ḥadīth al-ṣaḥīḥ*) as one which has been transmitted from memory or in writing by trustworthy narrators without any abnormality or weakness (*shudhūd wa ʿillah*) in the

³ Muḥammad al-Kulaynī, *ʿUṣūl al-Kāfī*, 1/257.

⁴ Al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-ughūḥ* 1/14; Al-Suyūṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tadrib al-RTāwī* 1/62.

⁵ Al-Mūsawī, *Qawāʿid al-Ḥadīth*, p.24.

chain of transmission.⁶ However, the Imamite Shi'ites define it as the hadith whose chain of transmission connects it to the Infallible (the Prophet or the Imam) and which has been transmitted from one trustworthy Imamite narrator to the next in every generation, thus ensuring that every link is sound.⁷

The good hadith (*al-ḥadīth al-ḥasan*) is defined by the majority of the scholars of Islam as one which has been transmitted by trustworthy narrators from a narrator whose memory was not quite as reliable as that of a narrator of a sound hadith.⁸ The Imamite Shi'ites define it as a hadith whose chain of transmission connects it to the Infallible (the Prophet or the Imam) and which was transmitted from one generation to the next by Imamite narrators praised for their honesty without stipulation, although some of them must also be narrators of sound hadiths.⁹

The Imamite Shi'ites define the authenticated hadith as one whose chain of transmission includes one or more narrators praised by them, even if one narrator had a corrupted ideology, provided there is no weakness in the links with the other narrators.¹⁰

The above definitions can be summarized as follows:

⁶ Al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-ughūh* 1/14-17; Al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Tadrīb al-RTāwī* 1/63.

⁷ Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Migbās al-Hidāyah* 1/145-160; Al-Mūsawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.24.

⁸ Al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad, *Fatḥ al-ughūh* 1/62-67; Al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Tadrīb al-RTāwī* 1/154.

⁹ Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Migbās al-Hidāyah* 1/160-162; Al-Mūsawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.24.

¹⁰ Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Migbās al-Hidāyah* 1/168; Al-Mūsawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.24.

Honesty (*'adālah*) of the Narrator

The majority of the scholars of Islam do not stipulate doctrinal agreement in the narrations of hadiths in order for the hadiths to be rated sound or good (that is, acceptable). They declare that the condition of honesty (*al-'adālah*) is enough. However, when they explain this condition, many of them understand it to mean that the narrator must believe the true ideology (according to their definition of the true ideology). The narrator must not be a heretic, as has already been described in the discussion of the differences among scholars over the acceptability of the narrations of heretics. Nevertheless, many scholars did not consider heresy to be a hindrance to accepting the narrations of a heretic if he/she was a trustworthy person. In the view of this group, heresy is not in opposition to honesty.

Origin of the Narrator

The Imamite Shi'ites are very clear in not considering the narrations of those outside their sect to be good or sound hadiths. They prefer to place them in a separate category under the heading of "authenticated" (*al-muwaththaq*). All the Imamite Shi'ites, without exception, agreed that authenticated hadiths have a lower status than sound hadiths. Therefore, they never classify a hadith from a narrator who was not an

Imamite Shi'ite as a sound hadith. However, they have differing views over whether an authenticated hadith has a higher or lower status than a good hadith.¹¹

Origin of the Praise of the Narrator

When the Imamite Shi'ites were considering for inclusion an authenticated hadith from a narrator outside their sect, they stipulated that the chain of transmission must consist of narrators praised only by members of their sect. Praise from others counted for nothing.¹²

The Result

The conflict between the scholars of Islam over whether to accept or reject the narrations of heretics had a deep effect on the use of the Hadith as evidence. It resulted in the appearance of different kinds of compilations of hadiths. The scholars of each doctrine tried to produce their own collection of hadiths based on reasoning according to the hadiths. The Ibadites had the *Musnad al-Rabī' ibn Habbīb*, the Zaydites the *Musnad Zayd ibn 'Alī*, the Malikites the *Muwaṭṭa' Mālik ibn Anas*, the Shafi'ites the *Musnad al-Shāfi'ī*, the Ḥanbalites the *Musnad 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. The Ṣālihiyyites *Muḥallā ibn Ḥazm*. The Imamite Shi'ites also had their own books: *al-Kāfi* by al-Kulaynī, *al-Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb al-'Aḥkām* by al-Ṭūsī, and *Man lā*

¹¹ Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Migbās al-Hidāyah* 1/170; Al-Mūsawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.25; Al-Faramāwī, Dr. 'Umar, *'Uṣūl al-Riwāyah 'ind al-Shī'ah* 197-198.

¹² Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah, *Migbās al-Hidāyah* 1/168-169; Al-Mūsawī, *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, p.30.

Yahdhuru al-Faqīh by al-Ṣadūq. Even the Ḥanafis, who were considered the leading scholars of Islamic interpretation, on seeing that each doctrine had its own collection, followed suit in compiling the narrations of their Imam, Abū Ḥanifah, into a book entitled *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfah*.

Part 4

Case Studies of Selected Narrations

Introduction

There is not a single aspect of Islam which has not been touched by the hands of the forgers. *'Aqīdah* (creed), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tafsīr* (interpretation of the Qur'an), *sīrah* (biography of the Prophet), *faḍā'il* and *mathālib* (virtues and vices), *malāḥim* (decisive military events), and *qaṣaṣ* (stories): all have been the subject of forged narrations. It is difficult to decide whether the forgery of narrations has had a strong effect on any particular aspect of Islam. There are scholars who suggest that some subjects have been more markedly affected than others. For example, 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says:

There are three subjects which have no basis [in the Hadith of the Prophet]: the *maghāzī* [battles of the Prophet], the *malāḥim*, and the *tafsīr*.¹

However, Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn maintained that narrations about *fitan* (trials) and the caliphs were all lies and based on fabricated reasoning. In his view, knowledge of these subjects was part of metaphysics, which could be acquired only by Revelation from Heaven, that is, from Allah. Although this reasoning was unconvincing because the narrations were attributed to the Prophet, who proclaimed the Revelation from Allah, yet Yaḥyā persisted in his assertion.

That is the general overview. However, if we examine aspects of Islam which are more likely to be affected by doctrinal conflict, we find that the effect on some is

¹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmi' li Akhlāq al-Rāwī*, 2/162.

much deeper than on others. This is especially true of *'aqidah*, *fiqh*, and *manāqib* (virtues), because there are particularly wide differences in people's views on these aspects of the faith.

The forgery of narrations about other aspects of Islam, such as *sīrah*, *qaṣaṣ*, and *malāḥim*, was more likely to originate from *quṣṣāṣ* (storytellers), who found that these subjects contained the kind of material which attracted the attention of their audience. In particular, any story attributed to the Prophet carried greater importance and authenticity.

CHAPTER NINE

Narrations about Virtues (*Manāqib*)

Before the coming of Islam, the Arabs were famous for their natural tendency to boast about their ancestry and the glory of their military victories. Their boasting was usually accompanied by exaggeration. In one of his poems, ‘Amr ibn Kalthūm refers to the people of his tribe:

We filled the land with our people
Until it was not big enough to hold us;
And we filled the sea with our ships.
If our baby is weaned,
Every oppressor will bow down in adoration of him.¹

We know that the Arabs were a people of the desert rather than of the sea, which means that ‘Amr’s description of his tribe was greatly exaggerated.²

When the King of the Persians asked al-Nu‘mān, one of the Arab kings, for the hand of his daughter, al-Nu‘mān flatly refused even to consider his request. He would not stoop to marrying his daughter to a Persian, even though the suitor was the King himself. He would rather be crushed to death under the feet of elephants than marry his daughter to a non-Arab.

¹ ‘Aḥmad al-Ḥashmī, *Jawāhir al-‘Adab*, p.357.

² Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta’rikh*, 1/436–441.

However, Islam opposed fanaticism and pride in one's ancestry, emphasizing that the only acceptable superiority was that of Godliness. According to the Qur'an,

O, mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honourable among you in the sight of Allah is the one who is God-conscious [*al-taqwā*]. (49:13)

In Islam, the Arab Abū Bakr was on the same level as the Persian Salmān, the Ethiopian Bilāl, and the Byzantine Ṣuhayb.

Abū Hurayrah said:

Two men were cursing each other. One of them abused the other by calling his mother rude names. The incident reached the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him).

He invited the first man and said to him: "Did you abuse him by calling his mother rude names?" He repeated the question angrily several times.

The man said: "Oh, Messenger of Allah, I ask Allah for His forgiveness for what I said."

The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: "Raise your head and look at the people around you." He looked at the people around the Messenger of Allah (Allah's blessings and peace be upon him). He [the Messenger of Allah] said: "You are no better than a red or a black man. The best person is the one who is best in religion."³

The Prophet confirmed this attitude in his Farewell Sermon (*Khuṭbat al-Wadā'*) in front of more than ten thousand people, when he said:

"O humankind, your Lord is one and your father is one. There is no preference for an Arab over a non-Arab, for a non-Arab over an

³ 'Ishāq al-Ḥanzalī, *Musnad 'Ishāq ibn Rāḥawayh*, 1/427; Sulaymān al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, 3/306.

Arab, for a black person over a red person, or for a red person over a black person, except their level of God-consciousness. Is that clear?”

They said: “Yes.”

Then he said: “You who are here must inform those who are absent about this.”⁴

Nevertheless, Islam could not completely eradicate from the Arabs’ hearts their tendency to boastfulness. Immediately following the death of the Prophet, it reappeared in the conflict between the Anṣār (the Aws and the Khazraj) and the Muhājirīn (the Quraysh) over who was worthier of taking over the Caliphate. In support of the claim by the Quraysh, Abū Bakr asserted that the Arabs would not agree to grant the leadership to anyone who was not a Qurayshi. Meanwhile, although the Anṣār had at first agreed among themselves to elect Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah from the Khazraj, the Aws reconsidered the matter and realized that it would be unwise to give the caliphate to someone from the tribe that had been their old enemy. Consequently, the election of Abū Bakr – and no one else – was not the result of a nomination by Allah or the Prophet, but an adherence to tribal traditions, which continued to have a noticeable influence on the lives of the Muslims.

It is known that ‘Alī objected to the homage paid to Abū Bakr, asserting that he, ‘Alī, was more worthy of holding the Caliphate. He stated that the basis on which Abū Bakr was considered a stronger claimant than a member of the Anṣār was that he belonged to the Quraysh, the Prophet’s tribe, he was the Prophet’s son-in-law, and

⁴ ‘Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad ‘Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 5/411; ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Mubārak, *Musnad ibn al-Mubārak*, 1/147.

therefore he was more closely linked to the Prophet. However, the same reasoning could be applied to 'Alī's position as a Qurayshi as well as being the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and therefore he was also more closely linked to the Prophet than Abū Bakr. Thus, 'Alī refused to recognize Abū Bakr as Caliph until the death of his wife, Fāṭimah, six months later.

Then, the fanatical followers of 'Alī alleged that Abū Bakr had extorted the Caliphate from 'Alī, which meant that allegiance to him was unacceptable. The followers of Abū Bakr opposed these allegations, pointing out that allegiance to Abū Bakr was legal because it was based on the acceptance of the Companions. As a result, each group began to forge narrations, which they attributed to the Prophet, in support of its opinion and in praise of its preferred candidate.

There is no clear evidence of precisely when there began to appear forged narrations about the *faḍā'il*. However, in his book, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Ibn Abi Ḥadīd asserts that it existed from the early years of Islam:

Know that the origins of fabrications in *faḍā'il* traditions were due to the Shi'a, for they forged in the first instance traditions concerning their leader. Enmity towards their adversaries drove them to this fabrication.... When the Bakriyya (*sc.* those favouring Abū Bakr) saw what the Shi'a had done, they fabricated for their own master traditions to counter the former.... When the Shi'a saw what the Bakriyya had done, they increased their efforts.⁵

This narration was the basis of Juynboll's assertion that the appointment of Abū Bakr as caliph immediately after the death of the Prophet provoked in 'Alī and his

⁵ Juynboll, G.H.A. *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith* p.17; see also: 'Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-'Islām* pp.212-213.

followers so much resentment that they turned to the fabrication of traditions extolling the virtues of 'Alī. Their action was countered by the fabrication of traditions by the Bakriyyah in praise of Abū Bakr.⁶

Each group of followers tried to prove the claim of its chosen leader to the caliphate. Although there is no irrefutable evidence in either the Qur'an or the Hadith supporting the nomination of a particular person to the caliphate, each of the two groups insisted that the Prophet had nominated its chosen leader to succeed him. Some of the narrations support one candidate's claim, while others refute the claim made by the opposing candidate and his followers. For instance, it was narrated that the Prophet said:

When I was taken up to Heaven,⁷ I asked my Lord to make 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib caliph after me. However, the angels protested strongly, saying, "Oh, Muhammad, Allah does what he wishes. The caliph to succeed you is Abū Bakr."⁸

It was also narrated that the Prophet said to Abū Bakr:

Allah will be visible [in the Hereafter] to the general population and to you in particular."⁹

However, among the followers of 'Alī, it was narrated that the Prophet said:

⁶ Juynboll, G.H.A. *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith* p.17.

⁷ This is a reference to the 'Isrā', the nocturnal journey made by Muhammad to Jerusalem, from where the *Mi'rāj*, his ascent to Heaven, took place. The angels meant that the decision had already been made by Allah.

⁸ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*, 1/276.

⁹ Ibid., 1/262.

My brother, my minister, the caliph from my family to succeed me, the best of whom I will leave after me, who will liquidate my debts and carry out my promises is ‘Alī.”¹⁰

Although there is doubt about the beginning of the forgery of hadiths in the *faḍā’il* and the *mathālib*, it is clear that the practice spread following the division of the Muslims and the Civil War. After the battles of the Camel, Šiffin and Nahrawān, the narrations of the *faḍā’il* and the *mathālib* played an important role during the Umayyad era, when the government went to great lengths to suppress narrations in praise of ‘Alī and his kinsmen. It is mentioned that Mu‘āwiyah’s opposition took the form of sending letters to his governors in every city and village, requesting them not to allow anyone to transmit narrations about Abū Turāb, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his kinsmen.¹¹

Despite the insistence of numerous scholars that there are no sound narrations in praise of Mu‘awiyah, many have been forged, such as the following:

There are three trustees: myself, Gabriel and Mu‘āwiyah.¹²

According to Anas ibn Mālik, the Prophet said:

The Angel Gabriel appeared to me, with a pen of pure gold, and said: “Allah, the Most High, the Supreme, conveys his salam to you and says: ‘Oh, my beloved [servant], I have given a gift from my horn [of plenty] to Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. Take it to him

¹⁰ Ibid., 1/299.

¹¹ Juynboll, G.H.A. *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith* p.13-14.

¹² ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La’ālī al-Maṣnū‘ah*, 1/383; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘Asqalānī, Lisān al-Mẓān* 2/219.

and ask him to write the Verse of the Throne [*Āyat al-Kursī*]¹³ in his own hand, using this pen and including the vowel signs, and to show it to you. I have written to him that there will be a reward for everyone who reads the Verse of the Throne, from the hour when he writes it down to the Day of Resurrection.’

Then the Messenger of Allah said: “Who is going to bring me Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [Mu‘āwiyah]?”

Abū Bakr replied: “I am.” So he went to him, took his hand and they came together to the Prophet. They greeted him and the Prophet returned their greeting.

Then he said to Mu‘āwiyah: “O Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, come near to me.” He did so. Then he [the Prophet] gave him the pen, saying, “O Mu‘āwiyah, your Lord has given you this pen from His horn [of plenty] to write the Verse of the Throne in your own hand. Then, you are to show it to me. Thank Allah for what He has given you, since He has written to you that there will be a reward for everyone who reads the Verse of the Throne, from the hour when you write it down to the Day of Resurrection.” Then he took the pen from the Prophet’s hand and tucked it behind his ear. The Messenger of Allah said: “O Allah, You know that I have given it to him” (repeating it three times).

Then Mu‘āwiyah knelt down in front of the Prophet’s hands, repeatedly thanking Allah for what He had bestowed on him until he was given a sheet of paper and an inkwell. Then he took the pen and wrote the Verse of the Throne in beautiful handwriting. He showed it to the Prophet.

The Prophet said: “O Mu‘awiyah, Allah has written to you that there will be a reward for everyone who reads the Verse of the Throne, from the hour when you write it down to the Day of Resurrection.”¹⁴

¹³ The Verse of the Throne (*Āyat al-Kursī*, 2:255) reads: “Allah is He besides Whom there is no god, the Eternal, the Self-sufficient by Whom all subsist; neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him; whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth is His; who can intercede with Him except with His permission? He knows what is in front of them and what is behind them, and they cannot comprehend any of His knowledge except what He pleases. His knowledge extends over the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of them both does not tire Him, and He is the Most High, the Great.”

There are sound hadiths confirming that it is the greatest verse in the Qur’an and that a substantial reward will be given to those who recite it. For instance, it is narrated that the Prophet said: “Those who recite the Verse of the Throne at the end of their prayer, only death will prevent them from entering Paradise.” ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, 2/8; ‘Aḥmad al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 6/30. That is why it was chosen by the forger of this narration as the verse that Allah wanted Mu‘āwiyah to write.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1/379.

The Prophet, also, is supposed to have said:

Oh, Allah, teach Mu‘awiyah the Book [Qur’an] and arithmetic, and save him from torment [in the Hereafter].¹⁵

According to Ibn ‘Umar:

The Prophet said one day: “A man from the people of Paradise will come through this door,” whereupon Mu‘āwiyah entered. The Prophet repeated his statement the next day, whereupon Mu‘awiyah entered again. Then the Prophet repeated his statement on the third day, whereupon Mu‘āwiyah entered again.

A man asked, “Is he [Mu‘āwiyah] the man?”

The Prophet replied, “He is!” The Prophet added, “You are part of me, Mu‘āwiyah, and I am part of you. You will rival me at the gate of Paradise like these two digits: the forefinger and the middle finger.”¹⁶

The opponents of Mu‘āwiyah and the Umayyad dynasty, for their part, forged many narrations criticizing Mu‘āwiyah, his son Yazīd as well as the Umayyad caliphs and governors. An example is that the Prophet is supposed to have said:

Every nation has its own Pharaoh. The Pharaoh of this nation is Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.”¹⁷

It was the same situation during the Abbasid era. The forgers followed in the footsteps of their predecessors by spreading narrations, supposedly attributed to the Prophet, glorifying their great-grandfather, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his

¹⁵ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/272.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1/279.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1/280.

descendants. In addition, many narrations were forged mentioning some Abbasid caliphs by name. The following are some examples:

- The Prophet said about al-‘Abbās:

Among his descendants there will be kings ruling my nation. By their means, Allah will confirm the religion [Islam].”¹⁸

- The Prophet said to al-‘Abbās:

You [and your descendants] will have the prophethood and the kingdom.”¹⁹

- The Prophet said:

From us [our family or supporters] will come al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdi [Abbasid caliphs].”²⁰

Many Hadith scholars have confirmed that these narrations were forged. For instance, al-Zar‘ī asserts that every narration praising or condemning Mu‘āwiyah, his son Yazīd, al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and all the caliphs of the Umayyad and Abbasid eras are lies.²¹

It appears that as the Muslim community disintegrated into religious groups opposed to one another, most of them sought a connection to the Prophet by alleging that he had mentioned their doctrine or their founder, either directly or indirectly,

¹⁸ Ibid., 1/289.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 1/290.

²¹ Muhammad al-Zar‘ī, *Naqd al-Manqūl*, 1/106.

even if the founder was born many years after the time of the Prophet. An allegation of this kind bore the stamp of high quality and was exploited by many sects to enlist the support of the general public. Ibn al-Jawzī narrated:

Al-Mukhtar [al-Thaqafī] said to one of the traditionists: “Forge a narration attributed to the Prophet, saying that I will succeed him a caliph, seeking retribution for his descendants. I shall give [in payment] ten thousand dirhams, clothes, a riding-animal and a slave.”

The traditionist said: “Attributed to the Prophet? I cannot [do that]. However, choose whomever you wish from among the Companions and deduct from the price whatever you wish.”

Al-Mukhtar replied: “[A narration attributed] to the Prophet carries greater authority.”

The traditionist replied: “But it also carries a greater punishment.”²²

There were many narrations forged to glorify a particular person or to condemn others. Here are some examples:

- The Prophet is supposed to have said:

Among my nation there will be a man called Muḥammad ibn Idrīs [al-Shaf‘ī]. He will be more harmful than Satan to my nation. Among my nation there will be a man called Abū Ḥanīfah. He will be the light of my nation.”²³

- The Prophet is supposed to have said:

In my nation there will be a man called Wahb, whom Allah will endow with wisdom. There will also be a man called Ghaylan. He will be more harmful than Satan to my nation.”²⁴

²² ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū‘āt*, 1/18; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La‘ālī al-Maṣnū‘ah*, 2/389.

²³ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-La‘ālī al-Maṣnū‘ah*, 1/417.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1/416.

- The Prophet is supposed to have said:

At the end of time, there will be a man called Muḥammad ibn Karrām. He will relive the Sunnah and the Muslim community (*al-jamā'ah*). His migration from Khorasan to Jerusalem will resemble my migration from Makkah to Medina.²⁵

Narrations of *faḍā'il* (virtues) and *mathālib* (vices) increased rapidly to a level of hundreds of thousands. Al-Khalilī reported the following statement by a scholar:

I looked closely at the narrations mentioned by the people of Kufa in praise of 'Alī and his kinsmen and I found that they numbered more than 300,000.²⁶

Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Suyūṭī did not see any exaggeration in that statement.²⁷ The observation caused some scholars to include among the signs of Hadith forgery any reference to the merits of 'Alī and his people, especially if the narrator was a Rafidite.²⁸

Some forgers of narrations praising the merits of a particular person even went as far as to boast of their actions. It was said to Maysarah ibn 'Abd al-Rabbih during his death throes,

Your Lord will have a good opinion of you."

²⁵ Ibid., 1/418.

²⁶ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Manār al-Munīf*, 1/116.

²⁷ Ibid; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 1/276.

²⁸ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 1/276.

He replied, "Why shouldn't I? After all, I forged seventy narrations in praise of 'Alī!"²⁹

Some forgers of narrations in praise of others had a flight of the imagination with some rather strange results. 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal reported that 'Umm Salamah was supposed to have said:

Fāṭimah [the Prophet's daughter] fell fatally ill and I was nursing her. On one occasion, she seemed better than she had been during that time. 'Alī [ibn Abī Ṭālib, Fāṭimah's husband] went out to see to his own business.

Then Fāṭimah said: "Mother, bring me some washing water." I did so. She washed herself as well as I have ever seen her do so. Then she said: "Mother, give me my new clothes." So I did. She put them on and she said: "Mother, bring my bed here to the centre of the house." I did so. Then she lay down facing the Qiblah, with her cheek resting on her hand, and she said: "Oh Mother, I am dying now and I have already washed myself, so do not show my body to anyone." And there she died.

When 'Alī returned, I told him and he said: "I swear by Allah that her body will not be shown to anyone." Then he buried her, for her body had already been washed.³⁰

Ibn al-Jawzī insisted that this narration was forged, even if it was mentioned in the *Musnad* by 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.³¹

In their endeavours to prevent the spread of narrations about *faḍā'il* and *mathālib*, many scholars paid a high price for their attitude. For instance, al-Nasā'ī, the compiler of the *Sunan*, compiled a book of the merits of the Companions and a book devoted solely to the merits of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. When Mu'āwiyah's

²⁹ Ibid. 1/283.

³⁰ 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *al-Musnad*, 6/461.

³¹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-'Ilal al-Munāhiyah*, 1/261.

followers asked him to compile a book devoted to the merits of Mu‘āwiyah, he replied: “What should I write? Should I write ‘May Allah not fill his stomach?’” referring to a narration transmitted via Ibn ‘Abbās that he said:

Once, I was playing with some children, when the Prophet came and said to me: “Go and call Mu‘āwiyah for me.”

So I [went and] came back and said: “He is eating.”

The Prophet again said: “Go and call Mu‘āwiyah.”

So again I [went and] came back and said: “He is [still] eating.”

Then the Prophet retorted: “May Allah not fill his stomach!”³²

However, al-Nasā’ī paid dearly for his views. Al-Dāraqūṭnī narrated:

He [al-Nasā’ī] went to Ramla [a city in modern Palestine], where he was asked about the merits of al-Mu‘āwiyah. He remained silent. Then they [the interrogators] flogged him in the mosque.

He said [to his family]: “Take me to Makkah [to die there].” So they took him, for he was very poorly, and he died a murder victim and a martyr.³³

³² Al-Nisāburi, Muslim, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/2010.

³³ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1/33.

CHAPTER TEN

Narrations of 'Aqīdah

There is no difference among the scholars of Islam in their acceptance of a *mutawātir* hadith as evidence in cases of 'aqīdah as well as in those of *fiqh*, because there is no doubt about its attribution to the Prophet ¹.

However, their views differ markedly in their level of acceptance of an 'āḥād hadith as evidence. The majority of the Qadarites and some of the Zāhirites state that an *āḥād* narration is not acceptable as evidence in either cases of 'aqīdah or those of *fiqh*.² Some scholars agree that it is acceptable as legal evidence in cases of *fiqh*, but they differ over its acceptability in cases of 'aqīdah. In other words, they assert that although an 'āḥād hadith can impose certain actions, it does not give real knowledge because it is based on a hypothesis. It is probable that the content of the hadith was said or done by the Prophet, yet one could not be dogmatic about it owing to the possibility of inaccuracy, forgetfulness and other influences. Therefore, in cases of 'aqīdah, where indisputable certainty must be established, a strong probability is not considered sufficient for an 'āḥād hadith to be accepted as evidence.

¹ Muḥammad al-Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, 4/238; 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, *Kashf al-Asrār* 2/660; 'Abd Allah al-Sālimī, *Ṭal'at al-Shams*, 2/12; Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, *'Usūl al-Fiqh al-'Islāmī*, 1/453.

² Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā*, 1/148.

This view is held by the majority of the Muslim community. It is the view of the Ibaḍites, the Zaydites, the Mu‘tazilites, the majority of the Ḥanafites, the Malikites and the Shafi‘ites, some of the Hanbalites and some of the Zāhirites.³

According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr:

Our friends [the Malikites] and others have differed over the trustworthy ‘*āḥād*’ hadith: does it impose both real knowledge and action? Or does it impose action but not knowledge? The view of the majority of scholars is that it imposes action but not knowledge. This is the view of al-Shāfi‘ī and the majority of the scholars of *fiqh*.⁴

In addition, Ibn Qudāmah, a Ḥanbalite, says:

It [‘*āḥād*’ hadith] has been subjected to different judgements. What is asserted by the majority of Muslims – the Companions, the Successors, those who came after them, and the scholars of *fiqh*, Hadith and ‘*uṣūl*’ – is that a trustworthy ‘*āḥād*’ hadith is legal evidence. The action must be implemented accordingly. It imposes action but does not give real knowledge.⁵

Others point out that an ‘*āḥād*’ hadith is evidence in cases of ‘*aqīdah*’ as well as those of *fiqh*, for they do not see any difference between them. Therefore, it must be accepted as legal evidence in both cases. This view is held by some of the Ḥanbalites and some of the Zāhirites.⁶

³ ‘Abd Allah al-Sālimī, *Ṭal‘at al-Shams*, 2/15; Sa‘īd al-Qannūbī, *al-Sayf al-Ḥād*, pp.7–8; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, *Kashf al-Asrār*, 2/678–680; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Andalusī, *al-Tamhid*, 1/7–8; Yaḥyā al-Nawāwī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/117; Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir*, 1/260–261.

⁴ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Andalusī, *al-Tamhid*, 1/7–8.

⁵ Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir*, 1/260–261.

⁶ Ibid., 1/262; Al-Bukhārī, *Kashf al-Asrār*, 2/681.

Consequently, the Qur'an is the favourite source for establishing dogma because it has been protected by Allah from corruption, deletion and addition, in contrast to the Hadith, which has been open to corruption, forgery, forgetfulness and inattention. Nevertheless, the Hadith still has a strong influence on *'aqidah*, because scholars need it to interpret the Qur'an and to explain certain verses, especially those which have a hidden meaning. Moreover, some scholars, particularly those who specialized in Hadith, were lenient in their acceptance of narrations for *'aqidah*.

This raises the question that used to be asked: Are invalid dogmas the result of forged narrations or are forged narrations the result of invalid dogmas? In other words, which came first: invalid dogmas or forged narrations?

It seems that either is possible. Sometimes, there was a weak or forged narration in a case. Therefore, some people thought that it was a sound narration which was actually said by the Prophet. Then, maybe it was developed and used to forge other narrations in this case to support its content.

For instance, some of the Companions, such as 'Umar and his son 'Abd Allah, thought that the Prophet had said that the deceased would be punished if his/her family wept over the death of their relative. However, 'Ā'ishah, the Prophet's wife, explained that there had been a misunderstanding.

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and others narrated via 'Abd Allah ibn Abī Malīkah that he said:

A daughter of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān died in Makkah. We went to attend her funeral. ['Abd Allah] ibn 'Umar and ['Abd Allah] ibn 'Abbās attended as well.

While I was seated between them, ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar said to ‘Amr ibn ‘Uthmān: “Why did you not forbid weeping? The Messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessing and peace be upon him) said: ‘The deceased is punished because his/her family is weeping for him/her.’”

Then Ibn ‘Abbās said: “‘Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] said something similar. I left Makkah with him. When we were in the desert, he saw a group of people sitting under a tree. He said: ‘Go and see who they are.’ I went and found Ṣuhayb. He [‘Umar] said: ‘Invite him [Ṣuhayb] over to me.’ I went back to Ṣuhayb and said: ‘Go to the Amir of the believers.’”

Then Ibn ‘Abbās said: “After ‘Umar died, I mentioned [what ‘Umar had said] to ‘Ā’ishah. She said: ‘May Allah have mercy upon ‘Umar. I swear by Allah, the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) never said: “Allah will punish a Muslim because someone is weeping for him.” However, he did say: “Allah will increase the punishment of an unbeliever because his family is weeping for him/her.” The Qur’an is sufficient for giving you knowledge. It says: “No laden soul will bear another’s load”’. (6:164; 17:15; 35:18; 39:7)⁷

‘Ā’ishah gave further clarification about other narrations, for this hadith was narrated via ‘Amrah bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who narrated that she had heard ‘Ā’ishah say, when she was told that ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar had said: The deceased is punished because his/her family is weeping for him/her:

May Allah forgive ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar. I am sure that he did not intend to lie, but he forgot or made a mistake. In fact, the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) was passing [the funeral of] a Jewish woman who was being lamented [by her relatives]. Then he [the Prophet] said: “They are weeping while she is being punished in her grave.”⁸

Sometimes, an invalid dogma began to appear owing to the incorrect interpretation of Qur’anic verses or the Hadith or the influence of other people, such as the People of

⁷ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/432; Al-Nīsābūrī, Muslim, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 2/641.

⁸ Ibid.

the Book, the Jews and the Christians. Those who believed in the dogma tried to find supporting evidence in the Qur'an or sound hadiths. Then they would forge narrations to support their assertions.

A good example is the case of the caliphate. The conflict among the Muslims over the caliphate arose after the death of the Prophet. They could not agree on who was the worthiest to hold the caliphate after him: the Quraysh, the Anṣār or the Banī Hāshim. As it happened, no one at the Hall Meeting referred to any text from the Qur'an or the Hadith to support his suitability for the caliphate. Instead, they all based their claims on political reasons. Later, when the argument developed into open conflict, some asserted that a particular tribe, clan or individual was worthier than another. Some Muslims asserted that the caliph should be a member of the Quraysh; others asserted that he should be a member of the Banī Hāshim or Banī al-'Abbās. Hundreds or even thousands of narrations were forged and attributed to the Prophet to support one or other of these opinions.

Starting-Point of the Forgery of Narrations

It seems that the forgery of narrations began in two ways.

1- Interpretation of the Qur'an

Scholars had many different interpretations of certain Qur'anic verses that have a hidden meaning. Since they could not agree on a single clear meaning from the

Qur'anic text, they decided to search for one in the Hadith. Here, each group tried to prove its assertion. This situation led to the forging of new narrations to support a particular opinion, to distort an existing narration, to strengthen a weak narration, or, at least to interpret a narration according to the opinion held by the interpreter.

The Qur'an itself states that it contains clear verses and allegorical verses. It also explains the correct way to find the real meaning of its text, that is, by understanding the allegorical verses from the clear verses. According to the Qur'an:

It is God who has revealed the Book to you [Muhammad], in which some verses are clear statements [which accept no interpretation] and these are the fundamental ideas of the Book, while other verses may have several possibilities. Those whose hearts are perverse, follow the unclear statements in pursuit of their own mischievous goals by interpreting them in a way that will suit their own purpose. No one knows their true interpretation except God and those who have a firm grounding in knowledge say, "We believe in it. All its verses are from our Lord." No one can grasp this fact except the people of reason. (3:7)

2- New Cases

In later years, questions arose that had not existed during the time of the Prophet or his Companions and therefore had not been the subject of discussion and a clear decision. These questions produced a wide range of suggested solutions. Therefore, each group searched the Qur'an and the Hadith for evidence to support its opinion. The growing debate then encouraged the forging of narrations attributed to the Prophet to strengthen a particular opinion.

Invalid Dogmas: Influence of the People of the Book

The People of the Book, especially the Jews, were responsible for introducing many invalid dogmas into the Muslim community. Even those invalid dogmas about which the Qur'an had given a clear warning were professed by some Muslims owing to the influence of some People of the Book who had infiltrated the Muslim community and interpreted the Qur'an according to the texts of their own Books.

Yet during the lifetime of the Prophet, it seems that some Muslims were sitting with some People of the Book and listening to what they were saying about the stories and information in their Books. The Prophet himself knew that and advised the Muslims on how they should deal with what they heard from the People of the Book. According to Abū Hurayrah:

The People of the Book were reading the Torah in Hebrew and translating it into Arabic for the Muslims.

Then the Prophet said: "Do not believe the People of the Book and do not accuse them of lying. Say: 'We believe in Allah and that which has been revealed to us, as well as that which was revealed to Abraham, [Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and that which was vouchsafed to Moses, Jesus and the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and to Him we have surrendered] [the Qur'an: 3:841].'"⁹

Moreover, the Prophet warned the Muslims against asking the People of the Book about anything concerning religion. He said:

⁹ Ibid., 6/2679.

Do not ask the People of the Book about anything, since they will not guide you after they have strayed.¹⁰

During the era of the Companions, the thought and dogma of the People of the Book began to permeate Muslim society. The People of the Book would sit with Muslims and tell them about what they found in their Books. Some of the Muslims would ask them about certain matters, such as the interpretation of Qur'anic verses, especially those which referred to information and stories about earlier prophets and nations.

Many of the Companions realized the serious consequences of this behaviour. So, as the Prophet had done, they too warned the Muslims against asking the People of the Book and accepting knowledge from them. For instance, Ibn 'Abbās says:

Why do you ask the People of the Book about anything, when your Book, which was revealed to the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him), is more up to date? You recite a pure text, without any distortion. It has told you that the People of the Book changed the Book of Allah and wrote it with their own hand, saying that it was from Allah to earn some money! Does the knowledge that you have gained not prohibit you from asking them? I swear by Allah that we have not seen a single man among them ask you about what has been revealed to you [the Qur'an].¹¹

Ibn Mas'ūd says:

Do not ask the People of the Book about anything, because I fear that if they tell you the truth, you will accuse them of lying, and if they tell you a lie, you will accept it as the truth. Be guided by the Qur'an, because it has information about who came before you, news of who will come after you, and it judges what will happen between you.¹²

¹⁰ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 2/10.

¹¹ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad. *al-Jām' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6/2679.

¹² Al-Muttaqī, Al-Hindi, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, 1/1006–1007.

Al-Rabī‘ Ibn Ḥabīb narrates:

Ibn Mas‘ūd once passed by a storyteller who was talking about the Torah. When the storyteller saw Ibn Mas‘ūd, he fell silent.

Then Ibn Mas‘ūd asked: “What is your storyteller talking about?”

They replied: “He mentioned that when Allah created Heaven and Earth, he rose to Heaven from Jerusalem and put his foot on the Rock of the House of Jerusalem!”

Then Ibn Mas‘ūd said: “We are from Allah and to Him we shall return: *innā li Allah wa innā ilayhi rāji‘ūn*.¹³ Unbelief cannot follow belief,” repeating it several times. Then he said: “They wished you to disbelieve as they had done, so that you and they would be alike. I do not believe anything except that that man is Satan in the form of a storyteller.” Then he added: “Why did you not censure what he said, telling him what the virtuous slave [of Allah] (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said (‘I dislike repudiators’). Do not believe what the Jews say about your religion.”¹⁴

Nevertheless, those warnings could not prevent the infiltration of the dogmas of the People of the Book into Islamic thought. Examples were, among others, the dogmas of leaving Hell, of salvation, of the Expected Messiah. These dogmas were supported by numerous fabricated narrations attributed to the Prophet.

Forged and weak narrations, referring to cases of dogma about which scholars held different views, spread in support of doctrinal opinions. According to Ḥasan al-Mālikī, a contemporary writer:

Lies in forged narrations and news spread, especially those which contained statements likening Allah to a human being. They were attributed either to the Prophet (Allah’s blessing and peace be upon him) or to the Companions or the Successors, or they were taken from the texts of the People of the Book – Jews and Christians.

¹³ This expression is recited in times of great difficulty.

¹⁴ Al-Rabī‘ al-Farāhīdī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/337.

The reason why those lies spread was that every doctrine wanted to strengthen its opinions and principles with hadiths and text. So they continued to accept those lies. Sometimes, Satan embellished texts for the adherents [of doctrines], who then considered it a virtuous deed to accept the lies as sound narrations because they apparently supported the Sunna and [true] dogma.

They forgot that the Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: “One who tells a lie [attributing it] to me intentionally will book his/her seat in Hell.” In addition, they pretended to forget legitimate texts that forbade telling lies.¹⁵

Here is an explanation of some of those dogmas.

Dogma of Adjournment

In many verses, the Noble Qur'an describes how the Children of Israel taught that if they went to Hell, they would not stay there for long, in fact, only for a few days! The Qur'an strongly condemns this kind of thinking, considering it to be nothing more than a figment of the imagination. It points out that there is no evidence to support this dogma, which is simply the result of their self-deception that they are superior to other human beings. The Qur'an ended their self-deception when it said:

Have you not considered those (Jews) who are given a portion of the Book? They are invited to the Book of Allah that it might decide between them, then a part of them turn back and they withdraw. This is because they say: The fire shall not touch us but for a few days; and what they have forged deceives them in the matter of their religion. Then how will it be when We shall gather them together on a day about which there is no doubt, and every soul shall be fully paid what it has earned, and they shall not be dealt with unjustly? (3:23–25)

Woe to those who write the Book themselves and say, “This is from God,” so that they may sell it for a small price! Woe to

¹⁵ Hasan al-Mālikī, *Qirā'ah fī Kutub al-'Aqīdah*, p.122.

them for what they have done and for what they have gained! They have said, "Hell fire will never harm us except for just a few days." [Muhammad,] ask them, "Have you made such agreements with God Who never breaks any of His agreements or do you just ascribe to Him that which you do not know? There is no doubt that evildoers who are engulfed in sin are the companions of hell fire, wherein they will live forever. As for the righteously striving believers, they will be among the people of Paradise, wherein they will live forever." (2:79–82)

The Qur'an counts this dogma among the kinds of self-deception that make it easy to commit sins. It warns Muslims against clinging to this self-deception:

[This] shall not be in accordance with your vain desires nor in accordance with the vain desires of the followers of the Book; whoever does evil, he shall be requited with it, and besides Allah he will find for himself neither a guardian nor a helper. And whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he [or she] is a believer, these shall enter the garden, and they shall not be dealt with at all unjustly. (4:123–124)

Those who read the Qur'an from beginning to end will certainly find that the verses which describe the destiny of human beings on the Last Day divide them into only two groups, not three. One group will go to Heaven and remain there for ever, and the other group will go to Hell and remain there for ever. Nowhere in the Qur'an is there any indication that a third group will go to Hell for a while and then leave it. Moreover, whenever the Qur'an mentions the inhabitants of Heaven or those of Hell, it clearly confirms that it will be their eternal destiny.

However, Al-Bukhārī narrated the following via Abū Hurayrah:

People asked: "O Messenger of Allah, shall we see our Lord on the Day of Resurrection?"

The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: "Do you doubt [the existence of] the moon on the night of the full moon?"

They replied: "No, O Messenger of Allah."

He asked: "Do you doubt [the existence of] the sun when there is no veil between you and it?"

They replied: "No, O Messenger of Allah."

Then he said: "In the same way you will see Him [Allah]. Allah will gather everyone on the Day of Resurrection and will say: 'Those who worshipped an object, let them follow it. Those who worshipped the sun will follow the sun. Those who worshipped the moon will follow the moon. Those who worshipped idols will follow idols. Only this nation, including its hypocrites, will stay.' Then Allah will come to them [in a different form from that in which they knew him], saying: 'I am your Lord.' They will reply: 'We shall not leave our place until our Lord comes to us! If He comes, we shall certainly know Him.' Then Allah will come to them in the form in which they knew Him, saying: 'I am your Lord.' They will follow him.¹⁶

The Bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) will be established in Hell. My nation (*ummati*) and I will be the first to pass over it. Only the Messengers of Allah will speak. Their supplication (*du'ā'*) will be: 'O Allah! Save! Save!' In Hell there will be hooks like the thorns on trees. Have you ever seen the thorns on trees?"

They replied: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah."

He said: "They are like the thorns on trees. However, only Allah knows their size. They will fasten onto people according to their deeds. Among them will be those who are destroyed and those who are smashed to bits. When Allah has finished judging between people and wishes to remove from Hell those whom he chooses, He will give orders to his angels to bring out of Hell those who had worshipped Allah, not other gods, yet Allah will be merciful towards them. They will bear witness that there is no god but Allah.

¹⁶ Also in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, another narration of this hadith, says: "All those who worship Allah, either pious or dissolute, will remain. Then, it will be said to them: 'Why do you remain when other people have departed?' They will reply: 'We withdrew from them earlier, and today, we are in greater need of withdrawing from them than before. We heard a summoner calling: "Every group must follow what it has been worshipping." So we are waiting for our Lord.' Then Allah will come to them in a different form from that in which they first saw Him, saying: 'I am your Lord.' They will say: 'You are our Lord. Only the Prophets will speak to Him.' He will say: 'Is there any mark by which you can recognize Him?' They will reply: 'The leg!' He [Allah] will uncover His leg...." Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6/706. Many Hadith scholars, such as Ibn Hajar, condemn this addition, even if it is included in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. See, Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 8/664; Al-Kurdī, 'Ismā'īl, *Naḥw Taf'īl Qawā'id Naqd al-Ḥadīth* p.203-204.

“They [the angels] will know them in Hell by the mark of prostration [on their foreheads when praying]. Hell will erode the whole body of a human being except the mark of prostration. Allah has forbidden Hell to destroy the mark of prostration. They will turn black as they come out of Hell. The water of life will be poured on them. Then they will grow under it, like a seed that is being watered. So Allah will finish judging between people. A man will remain with his face towards Hell. He will be the last person to enter Paradise. He will say: ‘O my Lord, turn my face away from Hell, because I have been injured by its stench and its heat.’ He will make supplication (*du‘ā*) for as long as Allah wishes. Then Allah will say: ‘If you are given that, will you ask for anything else?’ He will say: ‘No, I swear by Your Greatness that I shall never ask for anything else.’¹⁷ He will give his Lord numerous covenants and promises. Allah will turn his face from Hell. When he sees Heaven, he will keep silent as long as Allah wishes. Then he will say: ‘O my Lord, bring me to the gate of Heaven.’ Allah will say: ‘Did you not give your covenants and promises not to ask for anything more than you have been given? Woe to you, son of Adam! How perfidious you are!’ He will make supplication (*du‘ā*) for as long as Allah wishes. Then Allah will say: ‘If you are given that, will you ask for anything else?’ He will say: ‘No, I swear by Your Greatness that I shall never ask you for anything else.’ He will give his Lord numerous covenants and promises. So Allah will take him to the gate of Heaven. When he draws near to the gate of Heaven, Heaven itself will appear to him and he will see its beauty and happiness. He will keep silent for as long as Allah wishes. Then he will say: ‘O my Lord, take me into Heaven.’ Allah will say: ‘Did you not give me your covenants and promises not to ask for anything more than you have been given? Woe to you, son of Adam! How perfidious you are!’ He [the man] will say: ‘O my Lord, I do not want to be the most miserable of your created beings.’ He will make supplication (*du‘ā*) until Allah begins to laugh at him. When He [Allah] laughs, He says: ‘Go into Heaven.’ When he enters it, Allah says to him: ‘Make a wish.’ He does so. Allah continues to tell him to make a wish until he comes to the end of his wishes. Then Allah says: ‘Your wishes are granted and in double measure.’”¹⁸

¹⁷ This also contradicts the fact established in the Qur’an that Allah does not respond to the supplication (*du‘a*) of the inhabitants of Hell. Allah says in the Qur’an: “And those who are in the fire shall say to the keepers of Hell: ‘Call upon your Lord that He may lighten to us one day of the punishment.’ They [the keepers of Hell] shall say: ‘Did not your messengers come to you with clear arguments?’ They shall say: ‘Yes.’ They shall say: ‘Then call.’ And the call of the unbelievers is only in error” (40:49–50).

¹⁸ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/2403. Al-Nisābūrī, Muslim, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/163-166.

Many scholars have criticized this hadith, even though it is narrated in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Some scholars criticize the whole hadith, others parts of it.

For instance, al-Kawtharī, a Hadith scholar, comments:

The narrations [of this hadith] differ in their reference to the arrival and appearance [of Allah], judging by what is written in the books of al-Bukhari, Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Khuzaymah, al-Darimi and others. They [the Muslims] did not know Allah in a specific form. It is obvious that narrating the meaning of this hadith has influenced its wording.¹⁹

Al-Ghazālī, a contemporary scholar, also commented on it:

This hadith is mysterious, disturbing and confused. The majority of scholars reject it. Al-Qadi ‘Iyad suggested that the person who would come to the Muslims in a different form on the first occasion would be an angel. It would be a test for them from Allah and it would be the last test that they would face. However, his suggestion does not work, because the Hereafter is not a day of examination. That is completed during the life of this world, as is mentioned in the book of al-Bukhārī: “Today [in this life] is work without requital. Tomorrow [in the Hereafter] will be requital without work.” Also, why would the angel perform this bewildering exercise? Who would have asked him to do it? And what would be the benefit of it? ...It is impossible, from our understanding and the texts, to accept that Allah will come in a form that disparages His Greatness and then will come again in his real form. The hadith is unacceptable ... the real Muslim would be ashamed to attribute to his/her Prophet hadiths such as this one.²⁰

There are many hadiths that clearly contradict the Qur’an and human understanding, for it is not even necessary to examine their *asānīd*. For instance, it is narrated via Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr that the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said:

¹⁹ Al-Kurdī, ‘Ismā‘īl, *Naḥw Taf‘īl Qawā‘id Naqd al-Ḥadīth* p.202.

²⁰ Al-Ghazālī, Muḥammad, *Al-Sunnah bayn ‘Ahl al-Fiqh wa ‘Ahl al-Ḥadīth* p127.

I saw my Lord on the Day of ‘Arafah²¹ in the shape of a beardless youth. He had a crown on His head and decoration on His feet. He was wearing a loincloth and was on a red camel.

He said: “I have forgiven all sins except grievances [between you]. When the night of Muzdalifah comes,²² He [Allah] does not rise to Heaven until the people have departed from Mina.”²³

This hadith was condemned by many scholars of Hadith, who considered it fabricated and clearly likening Allah to a human being. Nevertheless, Abū Zur’ah said:

It is a sound hadith, which is condemned only by the Mu‘tazilites.”²⁴

Another example of this kind of narration is that narrated by ‘Ubayd ibn Ḥunayn:

I was sitting in the mosque when Qatādah ibn al-Nu‘mān arrived.

He said to me: “Let us go to see Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, since I have been told that he is ill.” Therefore, we went together.

We found Abū Sa‘īd lying down, with his right leg crossed over his left leg. We greeted him and sat down. Then Qatādah bit Abū Sa‘īd’s leg very hard.

Abū Sa‘īd exclaimed in astonishment: “You are hurting me!”

He [Qatādah] said: “That is what I wanted, because the Messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and peace be upon him) said: ‘After Allah had finished his Creation, he lay down and crossed one leg over the other and said, “Not one of my creatures should do that [crossing one’s legs].”

So Abū Sa‘īd said: “I shall never do it again.”²⁵

²¹ This is the ninth day of the lunar month Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On this day, between noon and sunset, pilgrims stand on Mount ‘Arafah in Makkah.

²² The night following the ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

²³ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū‘āt*, 1/80; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Lu‘lu’ al-Marṣū‘*, 1/86.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *Daf‘ Shubah al-Tashbīh*, p.165.

Some forgers chose to change a word or a sentence in an existing genuine hadith attributed to the Prophet. Instead of forging more narrations, they preferred to enter small but effective changes in a word or sentence in a well-known hadith that had been said by the Prophet. So, in this insidious manner, they could guarantee that people would believe the hadith with its alterations.

For instance, al-Rabī‘ ibn Ḥabīb and others narrated:

A man came to the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) and said: “O Messenger of Allah, I had a female slave grazing my flocks of sheep and goats. Once, when I went to see her, I missed a goat. When I asked her, she replied that a wolf had eaten it. So I was very upset about that. I became angry and even slapped her face. Now, I want to manumit a slave. Can I manumit her?”

The Prophet said: “When she comes, bring her [to me].” The man brought her. The Messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and peace be upon her) asked her: “Who is your Lord?”

She replied: “Allah is my Lord.”

He asked: “And who is your Prophet?”

She replied: “You are, Muhammad, Messenger of Allah.”

So, the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said to the man: “Manumit her because she is a believer.”²⁶

This hadith was narrated by many transmitters with the question “Who is your Lord?” and the answer “Allah is my Lord”. However, in other narrations, the question was changed to “Where is your Lord?” and the female slave’s answer was “In Heaven [the sky].”

²⁶ Al-Rabī‘ al-Farāhīdī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/262.

This change supports the dogma, which is believed by some Muslims, that Allah is in Heaven. The majority of Muslims have condemned this dogma, saying that we cannot describe Allah as being bound by time or place, since He existed before He created time and place. In other words, He was when there was neither time nor place, and He is now, as He was.

In addition, when the Prophet asked people about their Lord, he would ask: “Who is He?” not “Where is He?” That is why one of the conditions of being a Muslim is to bear witness that there is no god but Allah. The Prophet said:

I have been ordered [by Allah] to fight people until they bear witness that there is no god but Allah and I am His Messenger.....²⁷

The Prophet would ask people about their god and their messenger. He did not ask them where they were.

‘Abd Allah al-Ghumārī comments on this hadith as follows:

The narrators changed its wording. It was narrated with this wording [“Where is Allah?” “In Heaven”], which was a change from the wording “ ‘Who is your Lord?’ She replied: ‘Allah is my Lord’ and the wording ‘Do you bear witness that there is no god but Allah?’ She replied: ‘Yes.’”

Al-Bayhaqī, in *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, mentioned all the wordings with their *asānīd*, thus allowing everyone to assume that only the meaning of the wording which is mentioned here [“Where is Allah?” - “In Heaven”] was narrated, [instead of the exact words,] as the narrator understood it. What supports this [conclusion] is that it is known from the words of the Prophet himself, established by reputation, that he used to examine everyone about his/her knowledge of Islam by asking him/her to make two statements as a witness [I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is His Messenger], which is the evidence that one is a

²⁷ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/17.

Muslim. Allah's existence in Heaven is the dogma of the Arabs before [the coming of] Islam. They were unbelievers. So how can their dogma be evidence of Islam?!²⁸

These criticisms persuaded scholars such as al-Bayhaqi to condemn the wording "Where is Allah?" "In Heaven", judging it to be a fabrication, although they accepted the hadith itself.²⁹

Al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim, Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr and al-Bazzār all narrated via 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ūd that the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said:

Allah spoke to Moses. When He spoke to him, he [Moses] was wearing a woollen cloak, woollen clothing and shoes of donkey leather.³⁰

This hadith was narrated by all these scholars with this wording. Ibn Ḥajar also narrated it without any addition.³¹ However, Ibn Baṭṭah, one of the Mujassimites, narrated it with the following addition:

Then, he [Moses] asked: "Who is this Hebrew speaking to me from the tree?"³²

He [the speaker] replied: "I am Allah."³³

²⁸ Al-Kurdī, 'Ismā'īl, *Naḥw Taf'īl Qawā'id Naqd al-Ḥadīth* p.221..

²⁹ Al-Qannūbī, Sa'īd, *Al-Ṭūfān al-Jārif* 1/302. Al-Kurdī, 'Ismā'īl, *Naḥw Taf'īl Qawā'id Naqd al-Ḥadīth* pp.218-222.

³⁰ Abū 'Abd Allah al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 2/411; Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr, *Sunan Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr*, 5/152; 'Aḥmad al-Bazzār, *Musnad al-Bazzār*, 5/400.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizzān*, 4/115.

³² According to the Qur'an Moses heard a voice from a tree. "So when Musa had fulfilled the term, and he journeyed with his family, he perceived on this side of the mountain a fire. He said to his family: Wait, I have seen a fire, maybe I will bring to you from it some news or a brand of fire, so that you may warm yourselves. And when he came to it, a voice was uttered from the right side of the valley in the blessed spot of the bush, saying: O Musa! surely I am Allah, the Lord of the worlds. (28:29-30)

This addition gave listeners the impression that the person who was wearing the woollen cloak, woollen clothes and shoes of donkey leather was Allah, and that when Moses saw Allah wearing those garments, he thought that He was a Hebrew man. This ambiguity led al-Jawzī and Ibn Ḥajar to consider the addition a fabrication.³⁴

Another example of a forged addition to a sound or good hadith is one which was narrated via ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Amr that he said:

We asked, “O Messenger of Allah, which of the people is the best in your view?”

He replied, “‘Ā’ishah.”

We said, “Which of the men?”

He replied, “Her father [Abū Bakr].”³⁵

Some narrators added the following to this hadith:

Then Fāṭimah [the Prophet’s daughter and ‘Alī’s wife] asked: “I have not noticed you saying anything about ‘Alī [ibn Abī Ṭālib].”

The Prophet replied: “‘Alī is like myself. Have you ever noticed anyone promoting himself?”³⁶

Ibn Ḥajar’s comment was: “This addition is forged.”

³³ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān* 4/114–115.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 3/216.

³⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Narrations of *Fiqh*

Scholars of Islam have decided that cases of *fiqh*, which are usually confirmed by probable evidence, differ from those of *'aqīdah*, which are confirmed by true evidence. The scholars have decided that dispute over cases of *fiqh* is possible and acceptable, in contrast with those of *'aqīdah*. The reason is that no one can confirm without any doubt that only his/her opinion is the correct one and that another opinion is wrong, because the supporting evidence is based only on probability. It could be discovered later that the evidence was too weak and the other opinion was based on stronger evidence.

According to Abū Ya'qūb al-Wārijlānī:

In cases of *fiqh*, we [the Ibadites] are right with the possibility of being wrong. Our opponents are wrong with the possibility of being right.¹

Consequently, the Companions had different views of numerous cases of *fiqh*. Many scholars, too, changed their minds over cases of *fiqh*, abandoning their original opinions in the face of new and stronger evidence. For example, as many as three opinions have been attributed to 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in many cases of *fiqh*.

¹ Al-Qannūbī, Sa'īd. *Qurrat al-'Aynayn* p10.

Therefore, scholars of Islam were more flexible in their acceptance of varying views in cases of *fiqh* than in those of *'aqidah*.

Nevertheless, despite this moderate method, which was confirmed by every Islamic doctrine, practice differed from theory. It did not prevent fanatical adherents to a doctrine from promoting their opinions on *fiqh* to the extent of insulting their opponents by calling them *fussāq* (profligates) and even *kuffār* (unbelievers).

Sometimes, the situation led to violence. Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn al-Jawzī mentioned numerous outbreaks of violence between the Ḥanbalites and the Shafī'ites in Baghdad and Syria during 323, 447, 475, 482, 487 and 495 AH. During the fighting, buildings were plundered and people were injured and killed. According to Ibn al-Athīr:

During this year [447 AH/1055 AC], fighting broke out between the Shafī'ite and the Ḥanbalite scholars in Baghdad. The leaders of the Hanbalites were Abū Ya'lā ibn al-Farrā' and Ibn al-Tamīmī. They were followed by many members of the public. They condemned raising the voice when reciting [*bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* in prayer], singing, *tarjī' al-adhān*,² and making supplication (*qunūt*) during the dawn [Fajr] prayer. They marched in protest to the palace of the caliph. Yet, that was not the end of the matter. [Demonstrators from] the Hanbalites went to the mosque in Bāb

² In the Arabic dictionaries *Lisān al-'Arab* and *al-Qamūs al-Muḥīṭ*, the word *tarjī'* means repeating in a melodious voice. However, according to *fiqh* scholars, *tarjī' al-adhān* means to intone the call to prayer in a melodious voice or to repeat the two witnessing statements [*ashhadu an lā 'ilāha 'illā Allah, ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūl Allah*].

Scholars have different views of this matter. Some, like the Shafī'ites and the Malikites, assert that it is Sunna and therefore preferred. Some of the Shafī'ite scholars assert that it is a duty, which, if neglected, renders the *adhān* unacceptable. Others, like the Hanbalites and the Hanafites, assert that the *adhan* does not include the *tarjī'* because it was not narrated from the Prophet. However, it is narrated from 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that if the *mu'adhdhin* performs the *adhān*, then it is acceptable, for the differences in this case are considered admissible. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 3/40; al-Fayruz'ābādī, *al-Qamūs al-Muḥīṭ*, 3/56; *al-Mawsū'ah al-Fiqhiyyah*, 11/176–177.

al-Sha‘ir and enjoined its imam not to raise his voice when reciting *bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* [in prayer].

However, the imam brought out a copy of the Qur’an and said to them: “Erase it from the Qur’an and then I can stop raising my voice when reciting it.”³

Dr al-Kaylānī describes the situation at that time:

Classrooms and schools turned into domains of dispute over doctrinal opinions, disproving opponents’ opinions and condemning them directly or indirectly. Students divided into different groups. Everyone glorified a specific teacher from among the teachers of doctrine, accepting everything that he said – without understanding it – and obeying his orders without thinking.

As a result, fighting became a frequent occurrence in the schools. It was very common to see adherents of a doctrine invite a [local] teacher of that doctrine or [one] from another city to give a lesson or lecture. During those lessons and lectures, other doctrines would be disproved. That provoked hostility and fighting, like that which happened in 469 AH [1076 AC], when Abū Naṣr al-Qushayrī came to al-Nizāmiyyah School and condemned the Hanbalites, comparing them to a *tajsīm*, anthropomorphism. He was supported by some of the schoolteachers, such as Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī and Abū Sa’d al-Ṣūfī. Then fighting broke out and spread beyond the school. Groups of the Shafi‘ite supporters attacked Abū Ja‘far ibn Mūsā, the leader of the Hanbalites, in his mosque. The Hanbalite supporters defended him, and so people continued fighting.

Abū Bakr al-Shāshī wrote to the Minister, Nizām al-Mulk, condemning what had happened and denying that the school, which had been built by him [Nizām al-Mulk], was responsible. When the problem grew beyond expectations, Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī decided in anger to leave Baghdad. Then the authorities intervened in the matter: the caliph brought together the teachers of the doctrines and solved the problem after long negotiations. He banned the teachers from teaching until 473 AH [1080 AC] to prevent them from provoking any more fighting.

Nevertheless, violence broke out again in the following year, 470 AH [1077 AC]. Hanbalite and Shafi‘ite students from al-Nizāmiyyah School attacked each other. Each group was sup-

³ Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 8/129.

ported by its followers among the general public. About twenty people were killed and others injured.⁴

Nevertheless, contradiction in narrations mentioned by scholars of *fiqh* to support their opinions is very common. It is easy to find one narration supporting a particular action as well as another one completely contradicting it, so that one of them, sometimes even both of them, must be considered fabricated.

For instance, scholars of Islam have different views about the wiping of leather socks during the ablutions (*wudū'*) before prayer. The Ibadites, the Shi'ites and the Kharijites assert that Allah ordered us to wash our feet as part of *wudū'*, when He said in the Qur'an:

O you who believe! When you rise for prayer, wash your faces, and your hands up to the elbows, lightly rub your heads, and [wash] your feet up to the ankles. (5:6)

Therefore, the duty is to wash the feet, not to wipe the leather socks. However, the Sunnis and the Zahirites allow the wiping of leather socks, asserting that the Prophet permitted it, although it would be better to wash the feet. Yet, Ibn al-Mundhir said:

What I choose is that wiping the leather socks is better [than washing the feet] because the heretics (*ahl al-bida'*) from the Kharijites and the Rafidites did not choose it. Doing what was rejected by the heretics is better than avoiding it.⁵

Narrations referring to the wiping of leather socks fall into two strongly opposing categories of either allowing it or rejecting it. According to Ibn Hajar, many Hadith

⁴ Dr Mājid al-Kaylānī, *Hākadhā Zahara Jil Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, pp.46–47.

⁵ Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 1/306.

scholars asserted that narrations confirming that the practice was permitted were *mutawātirah*:

Some collected the names of its narrators [among the Companions] and there are more than eighty of them.”⁶

Al-Kattānī included the narrations permitting the practice in the *mutawatir* category in his book *Naẓm al-Mutanāhir*.⁷

However, Itfayyish, an Ibaḍīte, asserted that all those narrations were either forged or weak..⁸ Jābir ibn Zayd, a Successor, narrated from two Companions, ‘Ā’ishah and ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās, who were well acquainted with the Prophet’s actions, that each of them said:

I have never seen the Messenger of Allah wiping his leather socks.”⁹

Although it was narrated that many of the Companions permitted the wiping of leather socks, at the same time it is also narrated that they rejected the practice. This contradiction was confirmed by Ibn al-Mundhir.¹⁰

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad, *Naẓm al-Mutanāhir* 1/60.

⁸ Naṣīr al-Bahlānī, *Nithār al-Jawhar*, 1/360.

⁹ Al-Rabī‘, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/62.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 1/305.

Nevertheless, it is very strange to find two contradictory narrations about Jābir ibn Zayd and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who were close friends living in the same city, Basrah. According to Jābir ibn Zayd:

I met many of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him), and I asked them: “Did the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) wipe his leather socks?”

They replied: “No.”

Jābir said: “How can a man wipe his leather socks when Allah asked us to wash [the feet themselves]? Only Allah really knows what our opponents are narrating.”¹¹

Meanwhile, it was narrated about al-Ḥasan that he said:

Seventy of the Companions told me that wiping the leather socks was permitted!”¹²

According to Abū Hurayrah, The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said:

Prayer is invalidated¹³ by a woman, a donkey or a dog.”¹⁴

However, it was also narrated via Abū Hurayrah himself that the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said:

¹¹ Al-Rabī‘, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/62.

¹² Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 1/306.

¹³ This means that if any of the beings mentioned in the hadith – a woman, a donkey or a dog – passed in front of someone praying, then that prayer would be invalid and would have to be repeated from the beginning.

¹⁴ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/192; Muslim, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/365. In Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, there is a narration from Abū Dharr which listed, in addition to a woman and a donkey, a **black** dog. When the narrator asked Abū Dharr, “Why a black dog [in particular], and not a red or a yellow one?” he replied: “Because the black dog is Satan!”

Prayer is not invalidated by either a woman, a donkey or a dog.”¹⁵

The truth is that both narrations are forged. When ‘Ā’ishah was told the first narration, she condemned it strongly, saying:

Do you compare us [women] to donkeys and dogs? I swear by Allah that the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) prayed while I was asleep in bed between him and the Qiblah.”¹⁶

Clearly, this means that the presence of a woman does not invalidate prayer. It is also obvious that the second narration, which is considered forged by many Hadith scholars such as Ibn al-Jawzī,¹⁷ was fabricated in reaction to the first one.

Among the cases that have provoked marked differences in opinion among scholars of Islam is that of reciting the *basmalah* (*bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*), before reciting *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* during the prayer. Should the *basmalah* be recited aloud or silently?

The Ibaḍites and the Shafi‘ites assert that it must be recited in a whisper when the *Fātiḥah* is recited silently and aloud when the *Fātiḥah* is recited aloud.¹⁸ The Ḥanafites and Ḥanbalites assert that it must always be recited in a whisper whether the *Fātiḥah* is recited aloud or in a whisper.¹⁹ The Malikites assert that it must not be

¹⁵ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/446.

¹⁶ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/192.

¹⁷ Al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/446.

¹⁸ *Al-Mawsū‘ah al-Fiqhiyyah*, 16/182; ‘Abd Allah al-Sālimī, *Ma‘ārij al-‘Āmāl*, 8/87.

¹⁹ *Al-Mawsū‘ah al-Fiqhiyyah*, 16/181.

recited at all, whether the *Fātiḥah* is recited aloud or in a whisper. Finally, the Shi'ites assert that it must always be recited aloud, whether the *Fātiḥah* is recited aloud or in a whisper.²⁰

This is a simple example of the many cases of *fiqh* about which there might be more than one opinion owing to contradictory evidence. However, there were fanatics who adhered so strongly to their doctrine that they could not tolerate any difference of opinion, even to the extent of preventing imams in the mosques from praying according to other doctrines. As mentioned above, the supporters of the Hanbalites in Baghdad demonstrated against the imams who recited the *basmalah* aloud and forced them to abandon the practice.²¹

The narrations referring to the opinions of the Prophet, the Companions and the Successors concerning this topic are very contradictory. It was narrated that 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbās said:

The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) recited it [the *basmalah*] aloud."

In contrast, it was narrated that Abu Hurayrah said:

The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) did not recite it aloud."

²⁰ Al-Sālimī, *Ma'ārij al-'Āmāl*, 8/88.

²¹ Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 8/129.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated that the opinion that the *basmalah* must be recited in a whisper even when the *Fātiḥah* is recited aloud was supported by the majority of the scholars from the Companions and the Successors, including the four caliphs – Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī – and ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir. However, al-Nawawī narrated a completely contradictory opinion – that the *basmalah* must be recited aloud when the *Fatihah* is recited aloud – stating that it was supported by the very same scholars, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī – and ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir²².

Muslim narrated that Anas ibn Mālīk said:

I prayed behind the Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him), Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. They all used to begin the prayer with *al-ḥamdu li Allah rabbi al-‘ālamīn*. They did not say *bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* at the beginning of the recitation or at its end.²³

This hadith is criticized and considered weak by many Hadith scholars, such as al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Dāraqūṭnī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Bayhaqī and others.²⁴ The reason is that the narrator added the last sentence: “They did not say *bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* at the beginning of the recitation or at its end”. Without this addition, the hadith means that the people mentioned used to begin the prayer with *Surat al-Fātiḥah* – not with any other surah – and it was commonly known as *al-Hamdu li Allah Rabbi al-‘Ālamīn* because that was the first verse of the surah. Therefore, there is no mention of whether they used to recite *bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. It

²² *Al-Mawsū‘ah al-Fiqhiyyah*, 16/182.

²³ Muslim, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/299.

²⁴ Sa‘īd al-Qannūbī, *al-Tūfān al-Jārīf*, 3/224.

appears that the narrator misunderstood the narration, assuming that Anas was referring to the recitation of *bismi Allah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, and so added the last sentence according to his interpretation. Many Hadith scholars, such as al-Shāfi‘ī, consider the addition a forgery.²⁵

In later years, there appeared practices that had been unknown among the Arabs during the time of the Prophet. Consequently, there were no hadiths referring to them specifically, although a judgement might be based on a hadith concerning earlier analogous cases.

One example is that of chess. This was originally a Persian game, which was not played by the Arabs during the time of the Prophet. However, when the Islamic Empire expanded to include Persia, the Muslims became acquainted with it. Scholars of Islam hold different views about chess. Some assert that it is forbidden, whereas others assert that it is permitted. However, what has been confirmed is that the Prophet did not specifically forbid it or permit it. This fact is supported by many Hadith scholars, such as al-‘Ajḷūnī who said:

There is no sound hadith about playing chess.”²⁶

According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah:

The narrations about playing chess, either permitting it or forbidding it, are all lies attributed to the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him).²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., 3/239.

²⁶ Muḥammad al-‘Ajḷūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā’*, 2/568.

²⁷ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Manār al-Munīf*, 1/134.

Both al-Shawkānī and al-Mūṣilī said:

There is no confirmation [from the Prophet] about this matter.²⁸

Nevertheless, there were many hadiths narrated – and attributed to the Prophet – about playing chess. For instance, it was narrated that the Prophet said:

He who plays chess is incriminated.²⁹

He who plays chess commits polytheism.³⁰

Every day Allah gives 360 looks [of mercy]. However, he does not look at the chess player.³¹

It was narrated via Abū Hurayrah:

The Prophet (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) passed by some people playing chess and said: “What is this chessboard? Have I not forbidden it? Allah curses the one who plays it.”³²

Another narration attributed to the Prophet was that he said:

The chess player is like the person who eats pork. The spectators of the chess players are like those who touch pork with their hands.³³

²⁸ ‘Alī al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/507; Muḥammad al-Mūṣilī, *al-Mughnī 'an al-Ḥifẓ wa al-Kitāb*, 1/505.

²⁹ Al-'Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā'*, 2/263; 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Maṣnū'*, 1/193.

³⁰ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/507.

³¹ Al-Jawzī, *al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 2/783.

³² Ibid.

³³ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/507.

This means that a sin is committed not only by the chess players, but also by the spectators.

Another classic example of forged narrations about practices appearing after the time of the Prophet was that of the steam bath or sauna. Although the steam bath was unknown in Arabia during the Prophet's lifetime, as confirmed by numerous scholars,³⁴ many narrations referring to it were attributed to the Prophet. Some asserted that he forbade using it, whereas others contradicted them, stating that he praised its use. Here are some examples:

What an excellent facility the steam bath is! It removes dirt and is a reminder of the Last Day.³⁵

What an excellent facility the steam bath is! When a Muslim enters it, he asks for Paradise and seeks refuge [with Allah] from Hell.³⁶

What an evil place the steam bath is! It is a place of nudity and water that does not cleanse.³⁷

‘Aṭā’ narrated the following:

Some women from Hims [a city in Syria] visited ‘Ā’ishah. She asked: “Are you some of the women who go to the steam baths?”

They replied: “We are.”

Then ‘Ā’ishah said: “I heard the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) saying, ‘Every woman,

³⁴ Al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/340; al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū‘āt*, 2/8; al-Ḥūt, *Asnā al-Maṭālib*, 1/141; al-‘Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā’*, 1/500.

³⁵ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/700.

³⁶ Shīrawayh, *al-Firdaws bi Ma'thūr al-Khiṭāb*, 4/260; Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad Nawādir *al-'Uṣūl*, 2/119; al-Ḥūt, *Asnā al-Maṭālib*, 1/307.

³⁷ Shīrawayh, *al-Firdaws bi Ma'thūr al-Khiṭāb*, 3/33; al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/339; al-‘Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā’*, 1/347; Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad, *Mizān al-'Itidāl*, 3/395

who takes off her clothes outside her home, removes the veil which is between her and Allah.”³⁸

There were some forged narrations mentioning that some of the Companions used the steam bath in Medina during the Prophet’s lifetime. It was narrated:

The Prophet saw Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb coming out of the steam bath and said to them: “It is good to have a steam bath!”³⁹

The following was also narrated via ‘Umm al-Dardā’:

The Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) once met her and said: “O Umm al-Darda’, where have you come from?”

She replied: “From the steam bath.”

Then the Messenger of Allah (may blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: “Every woman, who takes off her clothes [outside her home], removes the veil which is between her and Allah.”⁴⁰

Moreover, there were narrations that the Prophet himself used the steam bath. It was narrated via al-Zuhri that he said:

I entered the steam bath and I saw Anas ibn Mālīk in there. I said to him [in surprise]: “Do you usually come to the steam bath?”

He replied: “I entered the steam bath and saw the Messenger of Allah there wearing a loincloth. I was going to ask him about it, but he said, ‘O Anas, I have forbidden entering the steam bath only without a loincloth.’”⁴¹

³⁸ Al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥman, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/342.

³⁹ Al-‘Ajlūnī, *Kashf al-Khafā’*, 2/47; al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'ah*, 1/433; ‘Alī al-Qārī, *al-Asrār al-Marfū'ah*, 1/239.

⁴⁰ Al-Jawzī, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/340.

⁴¹ Al-Jawzī, *al-Mawdū'āt*, 2/8. Ibn ‘Arrāq, *Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah*, 2/67. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-La'ālī al-Maṣnu'ah*, 2/7.

Many Hadith scholars, such as Ibn al-Jawzi, al-Müşilî and al-‘Ajlünî, confirmed that there is not a single sound hadith mentioning this practice and they considered every narration about it attributed to the Prophet to be forged.⁴²

⁴² Al-Jawzî, *al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiyah*, 1/339–343; al-‘Ajlünî, *Kashf al-Khafā’*, 2/566; al-Müşilî, *al-Mughnî ‘an al-Ḥifẓ wa al-Kitāb*, 1/347.

Conclusion

The principal results of this study can be summarized as follows.

The conflict among the Muslims began immediately after the death of the Prophet. Although there had been some differences among them during the Prophet's lifetime, they were solved as soon as he had given his decision.

The conflict increased and became particularly intense during the rule of the third caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.

After the assassination of 'Uthmān, the conflict developed into open warfare between groups and doctrines. Political parties were formed, with 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, etc., each having their own supporters. There appeared groups based on dogmas: the Kharijites, Shi'ites, Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, and the Mu'tazilites. There were different doctrines of *fiqh*, represented by the Ibadites, Zaydites, Malikites, Hanafites, and the Shafi'ites, etc.

Each group and doctrine had its own way of thinking and supporting evidence. Its attitude was that its followers and evidence were right and everyone else was wrong, and various strategies were employed to confirm its views.

Some doctrines soon disappeared owing to lack of support for their thought and opinions. Others continued to exist for some time, a few of which are still alive and well today.

Doctrinal conflict affected every aspect of Muslim society, including the science of Hadith.

Muslims place a high value on Hadith because it consists of the saying, deeds and sanctions of the Prophet, who was infallible. All Muslims consider the Hadith the second source of Islamic Law after the Noble Qur'an.

Many Islamic groups decided to reject other people's narrations because they classified them as the "narrations of heretics" and therefore doubtful and unacceptable.

Heretics were not welcome to attend the lectures or classes of those who had different opinions.

Some Muslims decided to support their opinions by forging narrations and attributing them to the Prophet. This led to the existence of thousands of forged narrations that had never been uttered by him.

The forgers of narrations chose to attribute their fabrications specifically to the Prophet because it facilitated their acceptability by Muslim society. Prophetic narrations were accorded a high status by Muslims owing to his infallibility and his knowledge of the transcendental.

The misuse of the Hadith took various forms as follows.

1. Narrations that had never been uttered by Prophet Muhammad were forged in his name and then passed off with a sound or a good *'isnād* (chain of transmission) after it was clear that there was no evidence to support the opinion of the forger.

2. Words or sentences might be changed or added to an existing narration, thus altering its original meaning to suit a particular aim.
3. An *isnad* might be manipulated to hide the weakness of a narration and give it the appearance of authenticity by omitting the names of weak narrators, hiding their original names, or giving them unknown names or even the names of famous reliable narrators.
4. An authentic narration by the Prophet might be explained by a scholar in a particular way that supported his opinion.
5. There were those who accepted a weak narration or rejected a sound narration because the former supported a particular opinion or the latter contradicted it.

The aims of a forger of doctrinal narrations can be divided into three types: support of doctrinal opinions, disparagement of others, or glorification of the doctrine.

Doctrinal conflict had a marked effect on the quality of the narrations that the adherents of particular doctrines collected and transmitted. The effect was noticeable from two aspects: the subject of the narrations and their *asānīd*.

There have been many views expressed concerning the question of whether to accept the narrations of heretics.

The conflict between scholars of Islam over whether to accept or reject the narrations of heretics had a strong influence on the use of the Hadith as evidence.

The aspects of Islam which have been most strongly affected by doctrinal conflict are *'aqīdah*, *fiqh*, and *manāqīb* (virtues), because they have provoked the widest differences in the views of Muslim society.

Biographies

Al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (52 BH – 32AH/573–653 AC): Abū al-Faḍl, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim al-Qurashī was born in Makkah and was the great-grandfather of the Abbasids. He became a Muslim before the Hijrah. However, he remained in Makkah to give information to the Prophet about the unbelievers. He died in Medina.¹

‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās (3 BH–68 AH/618–687 AC): ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī was a cousin of the Prophet. He was a scholar of Interpretation of the Qur’an, Hadith and *fiqh*, and, of all the Companions, he narrated the highest number of hadiths.²

‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32 AH/653 AC): Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Ghāfil al-Hudhalī was one of the scholars among the Companions. He moved to Kufa and then to Medina, where he died.³

‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar (10 BH–73 AH/613–692 AC): ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-‘Adawī al-Qurashī was one of the scholars of Hadith and *fiqh* among the Companions.⁴

¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī, *al-‘Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 3/631.

² Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 4/141; al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/314.

³ Al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/124–139; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.323.

⁴ Al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/292; Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/108.

‘Abd Allah ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī (d. 38 AH/658 AC): ‘Abd Allah ibn Wahb al-Rasibī al-Azdī was a close supporter of ‘Alī during his battles. However, he deserted ‘Alī when the latter accepted the Arbitration. Ahl al-Nahrawān chose him as their caliph. He was killed at the Battle of al-Nahrawān.⁵

‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr (1–73 AH/622–692 AC): Abū Bakr, ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām al-Asadī al-Qurashī was recognized as caliph in 64 AH/683 AC and he ruled Egypt, Hijaz, Yemen, Khorasan and Iraq. Then the Umayyads attacked him and he was killed in Makkah.⁶

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī = Al-Jawzī

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr = Al-Suyūṭī.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī = Ibn Mahdī

Abū ‘Alī al-Jabbā’ī (235–303 AH/849–916 AC): Abū ‘Alī, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Salām al-Jabbā’ī was born in Basrah. He was one of the most famous scholars of the Mu‘tazilites. He died in Basrah, leaving a large volume on the interpretation of the Qur’an.⁷

⁵ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/143.

⁶ Al-Asbahani, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/329–347; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, p.303.

⁷ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 8/108–109.

Abū Bakr ibn ‘Ayyāsh (d. 194 AH/770 AC): Abū Bakr ibn ‘Ayyāsh ibn Sālim al-Asadī al-Kūfī was a memorizer of hadiths. Although his memory was sound for most of his life, it became unreliable in old age.⁸

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (51 BH–13 AH/573–634 AC): Abū Bakr, ‘Abd Allah ibn Abī Quḥāfah, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Āmir al-Timīmī al-Qurashī was the first person to accept Islam. He accompanied the Prophet on the Hijrah and, on the death of the Prophet, took over as the first caliph of the Muslims until his own death.⁹

Abū Da’ūd = al-Sijistānī

Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150 AH/767 AC): Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu‘mān ibn Thābit al-Tamīmī came from Kufa in Iraq. He was the founder of the School of *Al-Ra’y* and was one of the four Imams of Ahl al-Sunnah.¹⁰

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (260–324 AH/874–936 AC): Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl al-Ash‘arī was born in Basrah. He was a great scholar. It was said that he produced 300 compilations, among which are *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* and *al-Ibānah fī ‘Uṣūl al-Diyānah*.¹¹

⁸ Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 33/129–135; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.624.

⁹ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/28–38; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.313;.

¹¹ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/38–55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.412.

¹⁰ Ibn Abī al-Wafā’, *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyyah*, 1/49–63; Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, 5/405.

¹¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*, 15/85–90; al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 4/263.

Abū Hurayrah (21 BH – 59 AH/602–679 AC): the “Father of the Kitten” as he was usually known. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣakhr al-Dawsī became a Muslim in 7 AH/629 AC. He produced the highest number of narrations among all the Companions.¹²

Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī (21 BH–44 AH/602–665 AC): Abū Mūsā, ‘Abd Allah ibn Qays ibn Salīm al-Ash‘arī was originally from Yemen. On hearing about Islam, he moved to Makkah, where he became a Muslim. Later, he became the governor of Yemen, then of Kufa. At the Battle of Ṣiffin he was one of the two arbitrators. He died in Kufa.¹³

Abū Ṭālib ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (85–3 BH/540–620 AC): ‘Abd Manāf ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim al-Qurashī was the Prophet’s uncle and ‘Alī’s father. He became the guardian of the Prophet after the latter’s grandfather died, and supported him until his own death.¹⁴

Abū ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ (40 BH – 18 AH/583–639 AC): Abū ‘Ubaydah, ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Jarrāḥ al-Fahrī al-Qurashī was born in Makkah and became a Muslim during the early years of Islam. He was the leader of the Muslim army which conquered Syria. He remained in that country until his death in a pestilence.¹⁵

¹² Ibid., 7/348; Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 34/366–379.

¹³ Al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/256–264; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.318.

¹⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/166.

¹⁵ Al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/100–102; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.288.

Abū Yūsuf (113–182 AH/731–798 AC): Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī was born in Kufa and was known as the friend of Abū Ḥanīfah. He held the post of judge during the administrations of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd until his death in Baghdad. His compilations included *al-Kharāj*, *al-’Āthār* and *al-Jawāmi’*.¹⁶

Abū Zar‘ah (d. 264 AH/878 AC): Abū Zar‘ah, ‘Ubayd Allah ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Makhzūmī was a great memorizer and scholar of Hadith.¹⁷

’Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (164–241 AH/780–855 AC): ’Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal ’Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī was born in Baghdad although his family came from Marw. From his childhood he sought knowledge. To this end, he travelled to Kufa and Basrah in Iraq, as well as to Makkah, Medina, Syria, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria and other countries. He compiled the *Musnad*.¹⁸

’Ā’ishah (13 BH–58 AH/605–675 AC): ’Ā’ishah bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the first caliph of the Muslims. The Prophet married her in 2 AH. She was a renowned scholar of Interpretation, Hadith and *fiqh*.¹⁹

¹⁶ Al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, *Tā’rīkh Baghdād*, 8/242; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-’Alām*, 8/193; Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.167.

¹⁷ Al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, *Tā’rīkh Baghdād*, 10/326; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2/557–559; Ibn Ḥajar al-’Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 7/28–30.

¹⁸ Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1/431; al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 9/161; Khayr al-Dīn, *al-’Alām*, 4/108.

¹⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-’Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 8/231; al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 2/43; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-’Alām*, 3/240.

‘Alqamah ibn Qays (d. 62 AH/681 AC): Abū Shibl, ‘Alqamah ibn Qays ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Nakh‘ī al-Hamadānī was a leading scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*. He died in Kufa.²⁰

‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ (30 BH–58 AH/574–664 AC): ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ ibn Wā’il al-Sahmī al-Qurashī was renowned for his intelligence. He became a Muslim before the conquest of Makkah. Later, during the caliphate of ‘Umar, he became the governor of Egypt. He supported Mu‘āwiyah, who, as caliph, allowed him to continue in his post until his death.²¹

‘Amr ibn Kalthum (d. 40 BH/584 AC): Abū al-Aswad, ‘Amr ibn Kalthum ibn Malik al-Taghlubi was the leader of his tribe and an excellent poet. He was renowned for his pride.²²

Anas ibn Mālīk = Ibn Mālīk

Al-Ash‘arī = Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī

Al-Ash‘arī = Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī

²⁰ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/248.

²¹ Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.423.

²² Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 5/84, Al-Tabrizī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah* 1/182.

Al-‘Asqalanī (d. 806 AH/1404 AC): Abū al-Faḍl, Shihāb al-Dīn, ‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn

Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī came from ‘Asqalān in Palestine. He was a leading scholar of Hadith and produced numerous compilations such as *Fatḥ al-Bārī* and *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.²³

Al-Aswad al-Nakh‘ī (d. 75 AH/694 AC): al-Aswad ibn Yazīd ibn Qays al-Nakh‘ī was a great scholar of *fiqh* and was particularly renowned in Hadith. He died in Kufa.²⁴

Al-A‘war = Al-Ḥārith al-A‘war

Al-Baghdādī = Al-Khaṭīb

Al-Basrī (21–110 AH/642–728 AC): al-Ḥasan ibn Yasār al-Basrī was an ascetic and a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*.²⁵

Al-Bazzār (d. 292 AH/904 AC): Abū Bakr, ‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Bazzār was born in Basrah. He was a leading scholar of Hadith. He died in Ramlah.²⁶

²³ Al-Sakhwī, *al-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘*, 2/36; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shatharāt al-Dhahab*, 7/270; al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 3/344–345.

²⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 1/330.

²⁵ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaẓ*, 1/71; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 2/243; Abu Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā‘*, 2/131–161; Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.240.

²⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 1/189.

Bilāl al-Ḥabashī (d. 20 AH/641 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah, Bilāl ibn Rabaḥ al-Ḥabashī came from Ethiopia. Although he had been the Prophet’s special *mu’adhdhin*, he refused to continue performing the *adhān* after the Prophet’s death. He died in Damascus.²⁷

Al-Bukharī (194–256 AH/810–870 AC): Muhammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bukhari was born in Bukhara and travelled far and wide to seek knowledge and collect hadiths. He compiled his famous book *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died in Samarqand.²⁸

Al-Dāraqutnī, (306–385 AH/919–995): Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Aḥmad al-Dāraqutnī was from Baghdad. He was a scholar of Hadith and compiled many books such as *al-‘Ilal* and *Sunan al-Dāraqutnī*.²⁹

Al-Dimashqī = Ghaylān al-Dimashqī

Al-Dimashqī = Ibn Kathīr.

Al-Fakhar al-Rāzī = al-Zamakhsharī

Al-Fārisī = Salmān al-Fārisī

Farqad al-Sabkhī (d. 131 AH/748 AC): Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sabkhī al-Baṣrī a narrator of Hadith. However, there are differing views of his authenticity.³⁰

²⁷ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/148–151.

²⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaẓ*, 2/555; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tā’rikh Baghdād*, 2/4; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-‘Alām*, 6/34; Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.106.

²⁹ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tā’rikh Baghdād*, 12/34; Muhammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaẓ*, 3/991; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-‘Alām*, 4/314.

Fāṭimah bint al-Nabī (18 BH–11 AH/605–632 AC): The Prophet's daughter, Fāṭimah bin Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hāshimīyyah al-Qurashīyyah married 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib when she was 18 years old. She died six months after the Prophet.³¹

Fiṭr (d. 153 AH/768 AC): Abū Bakr, Fiṭr ibn Khalīfah al-Ḥannaṭ al-Kūfi was a narrator of hadiths. However, views differ about his authenticity.³²

Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (d. 116 AH/731 AC): Abū Marwān, Ghaylān ibn Muslim al-Dimashqī was, after Ma'bad al-Juhanī, the second most important of the Qadarites. He was executed.³³

Goldziher (1266–1340 AH/1850–1921 AC): Ignaz Goldziher was born in Stuhlweissenburg (Székesfehérvár) in Central Hungary. He visited Syria, Palestine and Egypt and became a famous orientalist. He died in Budapest.³⁴

Al-Ḥabashī = Bilāl al-Ḥabashī

Al-Ḥārith al-A'war (d. 165 AH/781 AC): Abū Zuhayr, al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd Allah, al-A'war al-Hamadānī al-Kūfi was a narrator of hadiths. However, there are differing views of his authenticity.³⁵

Al-Ḥasan = Al-Basrī

³⁰ Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 23/164–166; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.444.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-'Iṣābah*, 8/53–59.

³² Muhammad al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'Itidāl*, 5/441–442.

³³ Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 15/124.

³⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 1/84; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ignaz_Goldziher

³⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 11/458; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 7/295–301; Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 4/303.

³⁵ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 2/127.

Ibn ‘Abbās = ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbās

Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148 AH/767 AC): Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā al-Kūfī was a scholar of the *Madrasat al-Ra’y*. He became the judge of Kufa.³⁶

Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd (625–702 AH/1228–1302 AC): Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Qushayrī was widely known as Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd. He was a scholar of *‘uṣūl al-fiqh* and Hadith. He died in Cairo. Among his compilations of hadiths is *Iḥkām al-‘Aḥkām*.³⁷

Ibn al-Jawzī (508–597 AH/1114–1201 AC): Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī al-Jawzī came from Baghdad. He was a great scholar of *tafsīr*, Hadith and history, producing numerous compilations.³⁸

Ibn Kharāsh (d. 98 AH/814 AC): Abū al-Salt, Shihāb ibn Kharāsh ibn Ḥawshab al-Shaybānī was a memorizer of Hadith.³⁹

Ibn Mahdī (135–198 AH/752–814 AC): Abū Sa‘īd, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī al-‘Anbārī al-Baṣrī was a leading memorizer of hadiths. He was born and died in Basrah.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, 4/179; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 9/260; Al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 6/189.

³⁷ Al-Katbī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 3/442; al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 6/283.

³⁸ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 13/30–38; Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, 3/140; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*, 21/365.

³⁹ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 12/568; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.269.

⁴⁰ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 17/430–433; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*, 9/192–209.

Ibn Mālik (10 BH–93 AH/612–712 AC): Anas ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍr al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī was one of the Companions who narrated a large number of narrations.⁴¹

Ibn Mas‘ūd = ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd

Ibn Mindah (d. 395 AH/1005 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah, Muhammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mindah al-‘Abdī al-Asbahānī was a memorizer of hadiths and produced many compilations.⁴²

Ibn al-Musayyib (1–94 AH/622–711 AC): Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*, was renowned for his piety.⁴³

Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110 AH/729 AC): Abū Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn al-Baṣrī was among the great scholars of the Successors. He was famous for his remarkable ability to interpret dreams.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 1/275.

⁴³ Ibn Sa‘d al-Zuhri, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, 5/88; Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 2/161; Al-Ziriklī, *al-‘A‘lām*, 3/102.

⁴⁴ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 2/263; Ibn al-‘Imād al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 1/138.

Ibn Taymiyyah (661–728 AH/1263–1328 AC): Taqiy al-Dīn, ‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Ḥarrānī al-Dimashqī was born in Ḥarrān in Syria. He moved to Damascus, and then to Egypt. Owing to his opinions, he was imprisoned several times. He produced many compilations, such as *Minḥāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah* and *al-Siyāsah al-Shar’iyyah*.⁴⁵

Ibn ‘Umar = ‘Abd Allah ‘Umar

Ibn al-Zubayr = ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr

Ignaz = Ignaz Goldziher

Al-Jabbā’i = Abū ‘Alī al-Jabbā’i

Al-Jaḥiẓ (163–255 AH/780–869 AC): Abū ‘Uthmān, ‘Amr ibn Baḥr ibn Maḥbūb al-Kinānī al-Laythī was born and died in Basrah. He was a leading scholar of the Mu‘tazilites and produced numerous compilations such as *al-Ḥayawan* and *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*.⁴⁶

Al-Juhanī = Ma‘bad al-Juhanī

Khārijah ibn Zayd (29–99 AH/650–717 AC): Khārijah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī was a great scholar of *fiqh*. He died in Medina.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibn al-‘Imād al-Dimashqī, *Shatḥarāt al-Dhahab*, 6/80; Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 14/135–140; Al-Zirikli, *al A‘lām*, 1/144.

⁴⁶ Al-Zirikli, *al A‘lām*, 5/120.

⁴⁷ Al-Zirikli, *al A‘lām*, 2/293.

Ma'bad al-Juhanī (d. 80 AH/699 AC): Ma'bad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Alī al-Juhanī was the first to examine *qadar*. He was killed by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf in Medina.⁴⁸

Mālik (93–179 AH/712–795 AC): Imam Mālik ibn Anas al-'Aṣbahī al-Ḥimyārī, Imam of Medina, was one of the four Imams of Ahl al-Sunnah. He was a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh* and is particularly well known for his book *al-Muwaṭṭa'*.⁴⁹

Al-Khaṭīb (392–463 AH/1002–1071 AC): 'Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Baghdādī came from Baghdad and was a scholar of Hadith and history. He left many compilations such as *Tā'riḫ Baghdād* and *al-Kifāyah*.⁵⁰

Al-Layth ibn Sa'd (94–175 AH/713–791 AC): Abū al-Ḥārith, al-Layth ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmi was born in Khorāsān. He moved to Egypt, where he remained until his death. He was a great scholar of *fiqh* and Hadith.⁵¹

Al-Madīnī (d. 234 AH/849 AC): Abū al-Ḥasan, 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far al-Sa'dī al-Madīnī was a scholar of Hadith and produced numerous compilations.⁵²

⁴⁸ Al-Zirikli, *al A 'lām*, 7/282.

⁴⁹ Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 6/316–355; *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1/207; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 10/5–8.

⁵⁰ Al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyyah*, 4/29; Ibn 'Asākir, *Mukhtaṣar Tā'riḫ Dimashq*, 3/173; Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, 1/92.

⁵¹ 'Aḥmad al-Kalābidhī, *Rijāl Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhār*, 2/633; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 8/412.

⁴⁷ Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 3/31; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizzān*, 5/703–706.

Al-Māturīdī (d. 333 AH/944 AC): Abū Manşūr, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn

Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī was born and died in Samarqand. He compiled many books, such as *al-Tawḥīd* and *Awhām al-Mu'tazilah*.⁵³

Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān (d. 73 AH/692 AC): Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Ṣakhr,

ibn Ḥarb al-Amawī al-Qurashī became a Muslim after the conquest of Makkah.

He took over the caliphate of the Muslims in 40 AH/660 AC, a post that he held until his death.⁵⁴

Muḥammad ibn Karrām (d. 255 AH/869 AC): Abū 'Abd Allah, Muḥammad ibn

Karrām ibn 'Arrāq al-Sijzī was the founder of the Karramites. He was born in

Sijistan, moved to Makkah and then to Nisabur, where he was imprisoned. When he was released, he moved to Jerusalem, where he died.⁵⁵

Muḥammad ibn Maslamah (35 BH – 43 AH/589–663 AC): Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān,

Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al-Awsī al-Anṣārī became a Muslim after the Hijrah.

He was born and died in Medina.⁵⁶

⁵³ Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 7/19; 'Aḥmad al-Ḥarbī, *al-Māturīdiyyah*, pp.93–114,

⁵⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *al- 'Iṣābah fī Tamyiz al-Ṣahābah*, 6/120.

⁵⁵ Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 7/10.

⁵⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *al A'lām*, 7/97.

Al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī (1–67 AH/622–687 AC): Abū Ishāq, al-Mukhtār ibn Abī

‘Ubayd ibn Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafī was originally from Ta‘if in the Ḥijāz, from where he moved to Medina. He fought the Umayyad caliphs to avenge the murder of al-Ḥusayn and was killed in Kufa.⁵⁷

Al-Nakh‘ī = Al-Aswad al-Nakh‘ī

Al-Nawawī (631–676 AH/1233–1277 AC): Abū Zakariyyā, Muḥyī al-Dīn, Yaḥyā ibn

Sharaf ibn Murri al-Nawawī was born in the village of Nawā in Syria. He studied in Damascus, where he stayed for 27 years. Then he returned to his home village, where he died in 676 AH. His compilations included *al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj* and *al-Majmū‘ fī Sharḥ al-Muḥadḍḥab*.⁵⁸

Nawf (d. after 90 AH/after 709 AC): Abū Yazīd, Nawf ibn Faḍālah al-Ḥimyarī was originally from Syria. He was a trustworthy transmitter of hadiths.⁵⁹

Al-Nisābūrī (d. 258 AH/872 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ‘Abd

Allah al-Dhuhli al-Nisābūrī was a great memorizer and scholar of Hadith.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Al-Zirikli *al-A‘lām*, 7/200.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-‘Imād al-Dimashqī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 5/354; ‘Abd al Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah al-Kubrā*, 8/395–400; Al-Zirikli, *al-A‘lām*, 8/149–150.

⁵⁹ Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 30/65; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.567.

⁶⁰ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2/530–532; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 9/441–444.

Al-Nīsābūrī (204–261 AH/820–875 AC): Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muslim

al-Qushayrī al-Nīsābūrī was a scholar of Hadith. He compiled his famous book *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, as well as other books such *al-Kunā wa al-Asmā’*.⁶¹

Al-Nu‘mān ibn al-Mundhir (d. 15 BH/608 AC): Abū Qābūs, al-Nu‘mān III ibn

al-Mundhir IV ibn Imri’ al-Qays al-Lakhmī was one of the famous kings of Al-Ḥīrah, part of the Persian Empire. He succeeded to the throne in 592 AC. However, he aroused the wrath of the Persian Emperor, who had him put to death.⁶²

Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī (d. 1332 AH/1914 AC): ‘Abd Allah ibn Ḥumayd ibn Sallūm

al-Sālimī al-‘Umānī was born in Rustāq in Oman and became blind at the age of 12. He died in Nizwā, leaving numerous compilations, such as *Ma‘ārij al-‘Āmāl*, *Tuḥfat al-A‘yān* and *Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁶³

Qatādah (61–118 AH/680–737 AC): Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, Qatādah ibn Da‘āmah ibn

Qatādah al-Sadūsī was born and died in Basra. He was a scholar of *tafsīr* and Hadith.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2/530–532; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 9/441–444; Aisha Bewley, *Glossary of Islamic Terms*, p.109.

⁶² Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 8/43.

⁶³ Muḥammad al-Sālimī, *Nahḍat al-A‘yān*, pp.118–134; Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/84.

⁶⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 8/315.

Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (37–107 AH/657–725 AC): Abū Muḥammad, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq al-Taymī al-Qurashī was a great scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*. He was born in Medina and died somewhere between Makkah and Medina.⁶⁵

Al-Qaṭṭān = Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd

Al-Rāsibī = ‘Abd Allah ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī

Al-Rūmī = Suhayb al-Rūmī

Al-Sabkhī = Farqad al-Sabkhī

Al-Sālimī = Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī

Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah (d. 14 AH/635 AC): Abū Thābit, Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubādah ibn Dulaym al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī became a Muslim before the Hijrah. After the death of the Prophet, he was the Anṣāris’ choice of caliph of the Muslims. However, he did not succeed to the caliphate. He left Medina during ‘Umar’s caliphate and died in Syria.⁶⁶

Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyib = Ibn al-Musayyib

⁶⁵ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 5/181.

⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.231.

Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 36 AH/656 AC): Salmān al-Fārisī was one of the Zoroastrians of 'Aṣṣahān in Iran. He travelled widely, eventually arriving in Medina, where he became Muslim after the Hijrah. He was the amir of al-Madā'in, from Persia, until his death.⁶⁷

Al-Salmānī = 'Ubaydah ibn 'Amr.

Sayyid Quṭb (1324–1387 AH/1906–1967 AC): Sayyid Quṭb ibn Ibrāhīm was an Egyptian writer on Islam. He established (the Muslim Brothers), for which he was imprisoned and executed.⁶⁸

Al-Sha'bi (19–103 AH/640–721 AC): Abū 'Amr, 'Amir ibn Shurahil al-Sha'bi was a leading scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*. He was born and died in Kufa.⁶⁹

Shurayḥ ibn al-Hārith (d. 78 AH/697 AC): Abū 'Umayyah, Shurayḥ ibn al-Hārith ibn Qays al-Kindī, originally from Yemen, was a famous judge. He died in Kufa.⁷⁰

Al-Ṣiddīq = Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq

Al-Sijistānī (202–275 AH/817–889 AC): Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath al-Azdī al-Sijistānī was a leading scholar of Hadith. He wrote the book *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, one of the famous canonical collections of hadiths. He died in Basrah.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Abū Nu'aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 1/185–208; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, p.246.

⁶⁸ Al-Zirikli, *al A'lām*, 3/147–148.

⁶⁹ Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 4/101; Abū Nu'aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 6/356.

⁷⁰ Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, p.265.

Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah (107–198 AH/725–814 AC): Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah ibn Maymūm al-Hilālī was born in Kufa. He was a scholar of Hadith and its narrators.⁷²

Suhayb al-Rūmī (32 BH – 38 AH/592–659 AC): Suhayb ibn Sinān ibn Mālik al-Numayri was born in Al-Mawṣil in Iraq. During his childhood, he was abducted by the Romans and brought up among them. Eventually, he was bought by an Arab, who took him to Makkah, where he became a Muslim in the early days of Islam. He died in Medina.⁷³

Sulaymān ibn Yasār (34–107 AH/654–725 AC): Abū Ayyūb, Sulaymān ibn Yasār was renowned as a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*.⁷⁴

Al-Suyūṭī (849–911 AH/1445–1505 AC): Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī was a distinguished scholar from Egypt, producing more than 600 compilations in every field of Islam.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1/591; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 4/153–156.

⁷² Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, 9/74; Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1/262; Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 7/270.

⁷³ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/151–156; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.278.

⁷⁴ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 2/190–193; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.255.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8/51.

Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubayd Allah (28 BH–36 AH/596–656 AC): Abū Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah ibn

‘Ubayd Allah ibn ‘Uthmān al-Taymī al-Qurashī became a Muslim in the early years of Islam and was known for his generosity and bravery. He was killed at the Battle of the Camel.⁷⁶

Al-Thawrī (97–161 AH/716–778 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah Sufyān ibn Sa‘īd ibn Masrūq

al-Thawrī was a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*. He died in Basrah.⁷⁷

‘Ubaydah ibn ‘Amr al-Salmānī (d. 72 AH/691 AC): ‘Ubaydah ibn ‘Amr al-Salmānī

al-Murādī was originally from Yemen and moved to Medina. Although he became Muslim in the lifetime of the Prophet, he did not see him. He was a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*.⁷⁸

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (40 BH – 23 AH/584–644 AC): Abū Ḥafṣ, ‘Umar ibn

al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Nufayl al-‘Adawī al-Qurashī was renowned for his bravery both before and after the coming of Islam. He converted to Islam in 5 BH and became the second caliph of the Muslims in 13 AH, continuing in the post until his assassination ten years later.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffaāz*, 1/203; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 4/101; Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’*, 6/356.

⁷⁸ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/199.

¹² Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/87–89; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.282.

‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr (22–93 AH/43–712 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām al-Asadī al-Qurashī was a leading scholar of *fiqh*. He was born in Medina and died in Basrah.⁸⁰

‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (47 BH–35 AH/577–656 AC): Dhu al-Nūrayn, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān ibn Abī al-‘Āṣ ibn Umayyah al-Qurashī became a Muslim in the early days of Islam and married, consecutively, two of the Prophet’s daughters. He became the third caliph of the Muslims in 23 AH/644 AC, a post that he held until his assassination in 35 AH/656 AC.⁸¹

Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn (157–233 AH/775–848 AC): Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn ibn ‘Awn al-Murri was a scholar of Hadith and its narrators. He compiled many books such as *Tārīkh ibn Ma‘īn*.⁸²

Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān (120–198 AH/737–813 AC): Abū Sa‘īd Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd ibn Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān al-Tamīmī was a leading scholar of Hadith.⁸³

Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah (25–64 AH/645–683 AC): Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān al-Amawī al-Qurashī was the second caliph of the Umayyads after his father’s death in 60 AH/679 AC. He acquired a bad reputation because he attacked Medina and killed al-Ḥusayn.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 4/226.

⁸¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.385.

⁸² Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 2/429; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 11/245; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14/177.

⁸³ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 8/147.

⁸⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al A‘lām*, 8/189.

Al-Zamakhsharī (467–538 AH/1075–1144 AC): Jār Allah, Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Zamakhsharī was born in Zamakhshar (Khawārisim, Persia) and moved to Makkah. He returned to Khawārizim, where he died. He compiled a number of books, including *al-Kashshāf*, on the interpretation of the Qur’an.⁸⁵

Zayd ibn ‘Alī (79–122 AH/698–740 AC): Zayd ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was born in Medina. He travelled to Syria and then to Kufa, where he was recognized as caliph by the inhabitants. When the Umayyads came to hear of this, they attacked the city and killed him.⁸⁶

Al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām (28 BH–36 AH/596–656 AC): Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām ibn Khuwaylid al-Asadī al-Qurashī was a cousin of the Prophet. He was killed at the Battle of the Camel.⁸⁷

Zufar (110–158 AH/728–775 AC): Abū al-Hudhayl, Zufar ibn al-Hudhayl ibn Qays al-‘Anbirī came from Asfahān. He moved to Basrah where he lived until his death. He was a great scholar of *fiqh* and was one of the students of Abū Ḥanīfah.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 7/178.

⁸⁶ Al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 3/59.

⁸⁷ Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 1/89–92; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, p.214.

⁸⁸ Al-Ziriklī, *al A’lām*, 3/45.

Al-Zuhri (d. 124 AH/742 AC): Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Zuhri al-Qurashī was a scholar of Hadith and *fiqh*.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 1/102; Abū Nu‘aym al-Asbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 3/360.

Bibliography

- Abü Zahw, Muḥammad. n. d. *Al-Ḥadīth wa al- Muḥaddithūn*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1984.
- Abü Zayd, Bakr. n. d. *Musnad al-Rabī‘ ibn Habīb: Kitāb manhu li Mu’allif Majhūl*. n.pl; no publisher.
- Abü Zahrah, Muḥammad. n. d. *Taūkh al-Mazāhib al-Islāmiyyah*. Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī.
- Al-‘Ajlūnī, Muḥammad. 1405 AH/1985 AC. *Kashf al-Khafā’*. Beirut. Mu’assasat al-Risālah.
- Al-‘Āmdī, Sa’d al-Dīn, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad. 1985. *Al-Ihkām fī ‘Uṣūl al-’Aḥkām*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Andalusī, Muḥammad Ibn Rushd. 1415 AH/1995 AC. *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*. Cairo. Maktabat Ibn Taymiyah.
-
- Al-Andalusī, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar. 1387AH/1978 AC. *Al-Tamhid*. Ministry of Religious Endowments [Morocco]
- Al-Anṣārī, ‘Abd Allah Ibn Manẓūr. 1997. *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Beirut. Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-Islāmī.
- Amīn, ‘Aḥmad, 1975, *Fajr al-Islām*. No publisher.
- Al-’Aṣbahānī, Abū Nu‘aym ‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allah. 1985. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī.

Al-‘Asqalānī, ‘Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar. 1390 AH/1970 AC *Lisān al-Mġzan*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī.

— 1997. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.

— n. d. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Beirut. Dār al-Ma‘rifah.

— 1983. *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*. Amman-Jordon. Maktabat al-Manār.

Al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Aḥmad. n. d. *‘Umdat al-Qārī*. Beirut. Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth.

Al-‘Aẓīm‘abādī, Muḥammad. n. d. *‘Awn al-Ma‘būd fī Sharḥ Sunan ‘Abī Dā’ūd*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.

Al-Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb. n. d. *‘Al-Kifāyah*, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-‘Arabī.

— n. d. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.

— 1983. *Al-Jāmi‘ li Akhlāq al-Rāwī*. Riyadh: Dār al-Ma‘ārif.

Al-Bahlānī, Nāṣir ibn Sālim. 2001. *Nithār al-Jawhar*, Muscat, Maktabat Masqaṭ.

Al-Baṭṭāshī, Sayf ibn Ḥumūd. 1992. *Itḥāf al-A’yān fī Tārīkh Ba‘ḍ ‘Ulamā’ ‘Umān*. Muscat.

Al-Bayhaqī, ‘Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. 1994. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. Makkah. Maktabat Dār al-Bāz.

— 1991. *Ma‘rifat Al-Sunan wa Al-‘Āthār*. Aleppo. Dār Al-wa‘y.

Al-Bazzār, ‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Amr. 1409 AH/1989 AC. *Musnad al-Bazzār*. Beirut. Mu‘assasat ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān.

Bewley, Aisha. 1998. *Glossary of Islamic Terms*. London. Ta-Ha Publishers.

- Biqā'ī, 'Alī. 1989. *Al-'Ijtihād fī 'Ilm Al-Ḥadīth*. Beirut. Dār Al-Bashāyir Al-Islāmiyah
- Al-Bukhari, 'Ala' al-Dīn, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Aḥmad. 1994. *Kashf al-Asrār*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Bukhārī, Muhammad ibn Ismā'il. 1401 AH. *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Damaucus. Dār Ibn Kathīr.
- Burton, John, 1994. *An Introduction to the Hadith* Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Al-Busa'idī, Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Aḥmad. 1420 AH/ 2000 AC. *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth 'Ind al-Ibādīyyah*. Muscat.
- al-Bustī, Ibn Ḥibban, Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān. 1993. *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Ḥibbān*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-Risālah.
- . 1396 AH/1976 AC. *Al-Majrūḥīn*. Elippo-Syria. Dār al-Wa'y.
- Al-Dāraquṭnī, 'Alī ibn 'Umar. 1966. *Sunan Al-Dār Quṭnī*. Beirut. Dār Al-Ma'rifah.
- . 1405 AH/ 1985 AC. *Al-'Ilal. Medima*. Dār Taybah.
- Al-Dārimī, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 1987. *Sunan Al-Dārimī*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kitab al-'Arabī.
- Al-Daylamī, Shirawayh. 1986. *Al-Firdaws Bima'thūr al-Khiṭāb*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn 'Aḥmad. 1995. *Mizān Al-'Itidāl*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- . 1994. *Siyar A'lām Al-Nubalā'*. Beirut. Mu'assasat Al-Risālah.

- . 1993. *Al-Muntaqā min Munhāj al-I'tidāl fī Naqḍ Kalam 'Ahl al-Rafḍ wa al-I'tizāl*. Riyad. Al-Ri'āsah al-‘Āmmah li al-Iftā’.
- . n. d. *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Dimashqī, Ismā‘īl Ibn Kathīr. 1994. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*. Cairo. Dār al-Ḥadīth.
- Al-Dimashqī, ‘Abd al-Ḥay Ibn al-‘Imād. n. d. *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*. Beirut. Dār ibn Kathīr.
- Al-Dirjīnī, Aḥmad. n. d. *Ṭabqāt al-Mashāyikh Bilmaghrib*. Muscat. Maktabat al-Istiḳāmah.
- Ennāmī, ‘Amr Khalifa. n. d. *Studies in Ibadhism*. n.pl; no publisher.
- Fallātah, ‘Umar ibn Ḥasan. 1981. *Al-Waḍ‘ fī al-Ḥadīth*. Damaucus. Maktabat al-Ghazālī.
- Al-Faramāwī, ‘Umar, 2000, *’Uṣūl al-Riwāyah ‘ind al-Shī‘ah al-Imāmiyyah*, Al-Manṣūrah, Egypt, *Maktabat al-’Īmān*.
- Farghalī, Muḥammad Maḥmūd. 1982. *Buhūth fī al-Sunnah al-Muṭahharah*, Cairo. Dār al-Kitāb al-Jāmi‘ī.
- Al-Fayrūz’ābādī Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb. 1996. *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. Beirut. Mu’assasat al-Risālah.
- Al-Gharnāṭī Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā al-Shāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā. *Al-I’tiṣām*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī.
- Al-Ghazalī, Abū Ḥāmid, Muhammad. n. d. *Al-Mustafā*. Damaucus. Dār al-Fikr.

- Al-Ghazālī, Muḥammad. 1989. *Al-Sunnah bayn 'Ahl al-Fiqh wa 'Ahl al-Ḥadīth*. Cairo. Dār al-Shurūq.
- Goldziher, Ignaz. 1971. *Muslim Studies*. London. George Allan & Unwin LTD.
- . 1981. *Introduction to Islamic Theology*. New Jersey. Princeton University Press.
- Al-Ḥākim, Abū 'Abd Allah, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah. 1990. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Ḥalabī, Abū al-Wafā, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. 1994. *Al-Tabyīn Li asmā' al-Mudallisīn*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-Rayyān.
- Al-Ḥanḏalī, Ishāq ibn Rahawayh. 1991. *Musnad Ishāq ibn Rāḥawayh*. Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah. Maktabat al-'Īmān
- Al-Ḥarbī, 'Ahmad ibn 'Awaḍ Allah. 1413 AH/ 1993 AC. *Al-Māturīdiyyah*. Riyad. Dār al-'Āṣimah.
- Al-Hāshimī, 'Aḥmad. n. d. *Jawāhir al-'Adab*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Ḥūt, Muḥammad. 1418 AH/1998 *Asnā al-Maṭālib*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. 1996. *Al-Iqtirāḥ fi Bayān al-Iṣṭilāḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah
- Ibn Khillikān, 'Aḥmed ibn Muḥammad. 1978. *Wafayat al-A'yān Wa'anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*. Beirut. Dār Ṣādir.

- Ibn Mājah, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī. n. d. *Sunan Ibn Mājah*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr.
- Ibn Maṣṣūr, Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr al-Khurāsānī. 1982. *Sunan Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr*. India. Al-Dār al-Salafiyyah.
- Ibn Ḥajar, *see* Al-ʿAsqalānī.
- Ibn Ḥasan, Mashhūr ʿĀl Salmān. 1995. *Kutub Ḥadhdhara minhā al-ʿUlamāʾ*. Riyad. Dār al-Ṣimayʿī.
- Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd Allah. 1407 AH/1987. *Musnad ibn al-Mubārak*. Riyad. Maktabat al-maʿārif.
- Ibn Al-Ṣalāḥ, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. 1988. *Muqadimat Ibn Al-Ṣalāḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr.
- Ibn Shāhīn, ʿUmar ibn ʿAḥmad. 1984. *Tārīkh Asmāʾ Al-Thiqāt*. Kuwait. Al-Dār Al-Salafiyyah.
- Al-ʿIzz Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Salām. n. d. *Qawāʿid al-ʿAḥkām fī Maṣāliḥ al-Anām*. Dār al-Jīl.
- Jahlān, ʿAddūn. 1991. *Al-Fikr al-Siyāsī ʿind al-Ibaḍiyyah*. Al-Sīb, Oman. Maktabat al-Ḍāmīrī.
- Al-Jawharī Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād. 1990. *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-ʿIlm li al-Malāyīn.
- Al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī. 1415 AH/1995 AC. *Al-Mawduʿāt*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah.
- . n. d. *Al-ʿIlal al-Mutnāhiyah*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah.

- . 1409 AH/ 1989 *Al-Quṣṣāṣ wa al-Mudhakkirīn*. Amman. Al-Maktab al-Islamī
- . 1992. *Daf' Shubah al-Tashbih Bi'akuf al-Tanzih*. Amman. Dār al-Imām al-Nawawī.
- Al-Jawziyyah, Ibn al-Qayyim. 2002. *Zād al-Ma'ad fi Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-Risālah.
- . 1403 AH/1983. *Al-Manār al-Munīf*. Beirut. Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyyah.
- Al-Jurjānī, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Adiyy. 1988. *Al-Kāmil fi Du'afā' al-Rijāl*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr.
- Juynboll, G. H. A, 1969. *The Authenticity of the Traditions Literature*. Leiden. E.J.Brill.
- . 1996 *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadith*. Aldershot : Variorum.
- Al-Kalābidhī, 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. 1407 AH/1987 AC. *Rijāl Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Beirut. Dār al-Ma'rifah.
- Al-Kāsānī, 'Alā' al-Din Mas'ūd. n. d. *Bada'i' al- Sana'I' fī Tartīb al-Sharā'ī'*. Dār al-Ma'rifah.
- Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad ibn Ja'far. n. d. *Naẓm al-Mutanāthir*. Egypt. Dār al-Kubub al-Salafiyyah.
- Al-Kaylānī, Dr. Mājid. 1424 AH/ 2003 AC. *Hākadhā Zahara Jil Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*. Amman. Dār al-Furqān.
- Kennedy, Hugh. 1986. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*. New York. Longman Group.

- Al-Khalīlī, 'Aḥmad ibn Ḥamad. 2002. *The Overwhelming Truth*. Ruwi-Oman. Ministry of awqaf and Religious Affairs.
- Al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad 'Ajjāj. 1988. *Al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadwin*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr.
- Al-Khurāsānī, Bishr ibn Ghānim. 1984. *Al-Mudawinah Al-Ṣughrā*. Muscat. Ministry of Culture.
- Al-Kinānī, Ibn 'Arrāq. n. d. *Tanzih al-Sharī'ah al-marfū'ah 'an al-'Ahadith al-Shanī'ah al-Mawḍū'ah*
- Al-Kurdī, Ismā'il. 2002 AC. *Naḥwa Taf'īl Qawā'id Naqd al-Ḥadīth*. Damaucus. Dār al-Awā'il.
- Al-Lālikā'i, Hibat Allāh. 1418 AH/1998 AC. *Sharḥ 'Itqād Ahl al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamā'ah*. Riyadh. Dār Ṭaybah.
- Madelung, Wilferd. 1997. *The Succession to Muḥammad*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Al-Mālikī, Ḥasan Farḥān 2000. *Qirā'ah fī Kutub al-'Aqā'id*. Amman, Jordan. Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah.
- Al-Mallaḥī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 1993. *Dawāfi' Inkār Da'wat al-Ḥaqq*. Riyadh. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Maqdisī, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Aḥmad Ibn Qudāmah. 1984. *Rawdat al-Naẓir wa Jannat al-Munāẓir*. Riyadh. Maktabat al-Ma'ārif.
- Al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allah. 1411 AH/1991 AC. *Migbās al-Hidāyah fī 'Ilm al-Dirāyah*. Qumm-Iran. Mu'assasat 'Āl al-Bayt.

Al-Manāwī, Muḥammad. n. d. *Al-Yawāqūt wa al-Durar fī Sharḥ Nukhbat Ibn Hajar*.

Riyad. Maktabat al-Rushd.

Ministry of Religious Endowments [Kuwait]. 1404 AH/ 1983 AC. *Al-Mawsū'ah al-Fiqhiyyah*. Kuwait. Dār Dhāt al-Salāsīl.

Al-Mizzī, Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 1980. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-Risālah.

Al-Mubārakfūrī, Muḥammad. n. d. *Tuḥfat al-'Aḥwadhī fī Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*. Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

Al-Muqrī, 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. 1988. *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghuṣṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*. Beirut. Dār Ṣādir.

Al-Müşilī, Muḥammad. 1407 AH/1987 AC. *Al-Mughnī 'an al-Ḥifẓ wa al-Kitāb*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī.

Al-Muttaqī, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Hindī. n. d. *Kanz al-'Ummal*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

Muṣṭafā, Ibn Muṣṭafā. 2003. *'Uṣūl wa Tārīkh al-Firaq al-Islāmiyyah*.

Al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf. 1995. *Sharḥ Sahih Muslim*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

Al-Nīsābūrī, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. 1400AH. *Al-Jāmi' Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Riyadh. Dār Al-Iftā'.

Al-Nīsābūrī, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq Ibn Khuzaymah. 1970. *Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Khuzaymah*. Beirut. Al-Maktab al-Islāmī.

- Al-Nasā'ī, 'Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb. 1996. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. Beirut. Dar al-Kutub al-
'Ilmiyyah.
- . 1986. *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*. Elippo-Syria. Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt.
- Al-Qārī, 'Alī. 1398 AH/1978 AC. *Al-Maṣnū' fī Ma'rifat al-Mawḍū'*. Beirut.
Mu'assasat al-Risālah.
- Al-Qannubi, Sa'id ibn Mabruk. 1418 AH/ 1997 AC. *Al-Sayf al-Hādd*. Muscat.
Maṭābi' al-Nahḍah.
- . 1420 AH/ 2000 AC. *Al-Ṭūfān al-Jārīf*.
- . n. d. *Qurraṭ al-'Aynayn*. Muscat. Maṭābi' al-Nahḍah.
- Al-Qawaqjī. 1415 AH/ 1995. *Al-Lu'lu' al-Marṣū'*. Amman. Dar al-Bashā'ir al-
Islāmiyyah.
- Al-Qurashī, Ibn Abi al-Wafā, 'Abd al-Qādir. 1993. *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍiyyah fī
Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyyah*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-Risālah.
- Qutb, Sayyid. 1408 AH/ 1988 AC. *Al-'Adalah al-Ijtimā'iyyah fī al-Islām*. Cairo. Dār
al-Shirūq.
- Al-Rashidī, Mubārak ibn 'Abd Allah. 1993. *Abū 'Ubaydah, Muslim ibn Abī
Karīmah*. Al-Mansurah-Egypt. Maṭābi' al-Wafā'.
- Al-Rāzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 1952. *Al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*. Beirut. Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth
al-'Arabī.
- Al-Rāzī, Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-
'Ilmiyyah.

- Shaban, M. A. 1971. *Islamic History: a New Interpretation*. London : Cambridge University Press.
- Al-Sābi'ī, Nāṣir. 1999. *Al-khawārij Wa Al-ḥaqīqatu Al-Ghāyibah*. Muscat. Maṭābi' al-Nahḍah.
- Al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 1995. *Fatḥ al-Mughīḥ*. Maktabat al-Sunnah.
- . n. d. *Al-Ghāyah fī Sharḥ al-Hidāyah*. Maktabat al-'Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam.
- Al-Sālimī, Nūr al-Dīn, 'Abd Allah ibn Humayd. n. d. *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Muscat. Ministry of Culture.
- . 1993. *Ṭal'at al-Shams*. Muscat. Ministry of Culture.
- . 1993. *Ma'arij al-'Āmal*. Muscat. Ministry of Culture.
- Al-Sālimī, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah. n. d. *Nahḍat al-A'yān*. Beirut. Dār al-Jil.
- Al-Ṣallābī, 'Alī. 2001. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*. Al-Shariqah- U.A.E. Maktabat al-Ṣaḥābah.
- Al-Ṣan'ānī, Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl. n. d. *Tawdīh al-Afkār*. Dār al-Fikr
- Schacht, J. 1950. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. Oxford. The Clarendon Press.
- . 1966. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Oxford. The Clarendon Press.
- Shaban, M. A. 1971. *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*. London : Cambridge University Press.
- Shalabī, Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafā. *Al-Madkhal fī al-Tārīf bi al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*.
- Al-Shammākhī, 'Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd. 1987. *Al-Siyar*. Muscat. Ministry Of Culture.

- Al-Shaybānī, ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muhammad. 1422 AH/ 2001 AC. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī.
- Al-Shawkānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. 1401 AH/1981 AC. *Al-Fawa'id al-Majmū'ah fī al-'Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'ah*. Beirut. Al-Maktab al-Islāmī.
- Al-Shihristānī, Muḥammad. 1997. *Al-Milal wa Al-Niḥal*. Beirut. Dār Al-Ma'rifah.
- Al-Sibā'ī, Muṣṭafā. 1995. *Al-Sunnah wa Makānatuhā fī al-Tashrī al-Islamī*. Beirut. Al-Maktab al-Islāmī.
- Al-Sijistānī, Abū Da'ūd, Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath. n. d. *Sunan Abī Dā'ūd*. Dār al-Fikr.
- Al-Subkī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb. n. d. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*. Beirut. Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr. 1979. *Tadrib Al-Rāwī*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- . 1417 AH/1997. *Al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'ah*. Al-Maktab al-Islāmī.
- . 1986. *Sharḥ Sunan ibn Mājah*. Aleppo-Syria. Dār Al-Maṭbū'āt.
- . 2002. *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*. Beirut. Dār Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyyah.
- . 1993. *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*. Beirut. Dar al-Fikr.
- Al-Ṭabarānī, Sulayman ibn 'Aḥmad. 1985. *Al-Mu'jam Al-Awsat*. Riyadh. Maktabat Al-Ma'ārif.
- . 1983. *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabīr*. Al-Musil-Iraq. Maktabat al-'Uloom wa al-Hikam.
- . 1984. *Musnad al-Shāfi'iyyīn*. Beirut. Mu'assasat al-risalah.

- Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad. 1967. *Ta'riḫ al-Ṭabarī*. Beirut. No publisher.
- Al-Tabrizī. n. d. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*. Beirut. Dār al-Qalam.
- Thompson, Della (ed.). 1996. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 9th edn, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. 1992. *Nawādir al-'Uṣūl fī 'Aḥādith al-Rasūl*. Beirut. Dār al-Jīl.
- Al-Tirmidhi, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. 1405AH/ 1985 AC. *Al-Jāmi' Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Riyad. Dār Al-Fikr.
- Al-'Uqaylī, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. 1984. *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Watt, William Montgomery. 1998. *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications.
- William, Muir. 1975. *The Caliphate*, New York: AMS Press.
- Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tarikh al-Ya'qūbī*. Dār Ṣādir.
- Al-Zāhirī, 'Alī ibn Ḥazm. n. d. *Al-Fiṣal fī Al-Mīlāl wa Al-Niḥāl*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Zar'ī, Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb. 1990. *Naqd al-Manqūl*. Beirut. Dār al-Qādirī.
- Al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn. 1992. *Al-A'lām*. Beirut. Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn
- Al-Zarkashī, Muḥammad ibn Bahādir. 1986. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*. Kuwait. Ministry of Religious Endowments.
- Al-Zarqānī, Muḥammad. 1411 AH/1991 AC. *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

Zaydān, ‘Abd al-Karīm. n. d. *Al-Madkhal ’liā Dirāsat al-Sharī’ah al-Islāmiyyah*. Al-

Sharikah al-Muttaḥidah.

Al-Zuhaylī, Wahbah. 1986. *’Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*. Damaucus. Dār al-Fikr.

Al-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn Sa’d. *Al-Ṭabaqāt Al-Kubrā*. Beirut. Dār Şādir.